1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Society

By

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The bulk of the material presented in this paper was recorded in 1920-1921 during my sojourn of nine months in Tonga as a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

This paper does not attempt a complete incorporation of all previously published Tongan data but only such materials as seem pertinent to the discussion in hand. To some extent, therefore, the reader who desires detail will find it necessary to consult other publications. Of published works Mariner's Tonga Islands (40)[1] is by far the most extensive and possesses the merit of great accuracy and understanding on the part of its author. Doubtless Mariner's work is to be regarded as the standard by which modern work is to be checked. A comparison of Mariner's records with mine near the completion of my sojourn in Tonga revealed a surprising similarity in the two sets of data recorded more than a century apart. Judged by this standard the data recorded in this paper have a relatively high degree of accuracy in spite of 75 years of Christianity in Tonga.

I express my gratitude to the numerous Tongans and Caucasians, all resident in Tonga, whose names appear in various places throughout this work. A considerable number of people kindly put at my disposal manuscripts recorded by themselves, by their forefathers, or by their predecessors in office. Special mention should be made of the archives of the Methodist and Catholic churches, of the Tamaha's genealogies, which were kindly put at my disposal by Her Majesty, the Queen of Tonga, of a manuscript by the matapule Elia Malupo which was loaned me by the Prince Consort Tungi, and of the manuscript materials put at my disposal by the late J. P. Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu Island. By far my greatest debt of gratitude is owing to the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the Methodist church, who most unselfishly put at my disposal a considerable quantity of ethnological material which he had personally recorded with the idea of ultimately publishing.

The future progress of research in the development of Tongan culture lies largely in the hands of the Tongan rulers. When they allow the

[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the list of Literature Cited (p. 351).

[p. 3]

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1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within the chief's enclosure.

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife.

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common.

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) mentions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family:

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ē-mo'ē* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *tăboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. Young children of divorced parents go with the mother.

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women.

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal surnames. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan government college, where young men are registered with their fathers' names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense.

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti:

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the Tui Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs and the Tui Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tui Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer. (My informant, Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, had seen the offerings of first fruits to Laufilitonga, both before and after he had become a Christian.) If the Female Tui Tonga lived near the male Tui Tonga, a presentation would be made to her at the same time; but if she lived at a distance, her share would be forwarded to her by the male Tui Tonga. Presentations of food produce were also made to the Tamaha. The informant, Rose Fatafehi, was not certain whether they were made direct to the Tamaha or through the medium of the Tui Tonga. Those commoners who resided close to the Tui Tonga's residence presented the first of their yams, and also yams on other occasions, directly to the Tui Tonga. But the farmers who were remote from the Tui Tonga presented yams to their own chiefs. Thus, people living in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu presented yams to their local chiefs. These chiefs presented a portion of the gift to the Tui Kanokupolu, who presented a portion to the Tui Haa Takalaua, who in turn presented a portion to the Tui Tonga. Yams and other products when first coming into season were carried from as far away as Vavau and presented to the Tui Tonga (26, p. 180). On board the vessel carrying such a cargo was a man who continually blew a conch shell trumpet as the vessel passed inhabited islands. Apparently some individuals were actually appointed to petty offices which involved the supplying of food articles to the Tui Tonga. Thus the man who brought the first yams from Haano Island bore the title Peu. At Manonofeke on Lifuka Island resided an official whose special business was to catch octopuses for the Tui Tonga and to transport them to Tongatabu. On Nomuka Island resides a matapule bearing the title of Tei, who is reported to have become the official *ava* (salmon) catcher about whom the following account was given:

> Originally the fish were in the custody of a couple named Nomu and Iki, who carried them to the Tui Tonga wrapped in lauhala leaves. A man named Tei took to the Tui Tonga some of the fish wrapped in sugar cane leaves. The Tui Tonga liked these fish and the smell of the sugar cane much better. He therefore gave the custody of the *ava* at the Nomuka lagoon to Tei. From that time until the present a Tei has been appointed following the death of each incumbent. Though the present Tei no longer carries the fish to the Tui Tonga nor to the Tui Kanokupolu, the title goes on.

Behind the giving of first fruits to the chiefs and the king seems to lie a religious sanction. It was believed that by thus presenting first fruits, first fishes, and large pigs to the chiefs, success in various undertakings was insured. One informant said that these were virtually offerings to the gods, but were made to them through the Tui Tonga who "was treated like a god."

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*salulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*likuvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungalaulau*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*nifoosi*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern informants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chronologic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupoutoa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

wished that some one would take her daughter away on a voyage as the daughter was the recipient of unwelcome attention from Teukava, one of the sons of the great chief Ata. Teukava had ordered the girl brought to an entertainment (*katoanga sike*), at which he forced the girls to appear naked so that he might review them and decide which he desired. Latuhehea, at her mother's wish, was taken away by the people of the island of Atata. They took her to Ata. The Atata people also settled on Ata, presumably to avoid Teukava's vengeance. The Houma people, themselves, could not take Latuhehea away from Tongatabu because being inland people they knew neither how to navigate nor to paddle and had no vessels of their own. Whether or not Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were already dead when Latuhehea and the Atata people came is not clear. West (62) assigns the flight of the Atata people to Ata to desire to escape the raids of a cannibal who dwelt on Nomuka Island, Haapai.

From Motuapuaka and Tapuosi to the informant James Tupouata (a man of seventy years of age in 1920) was five generations. Table 15 (in pocket) shows seven generations of people who resided on or were born in Ata. One hundred and fifty-one of the 163 people listed by me in a census of Ata inhabitants are included in this genealogy. The genealogical evidence seems to point to the middle of the eighteenth century as the probable time of arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. The earlier growth of the population was largely through cross-cousin marriages, as there were but few accretions to the population from without. No doubt cross-cousin marriage was practiced to a far greater extent than in the general rank and file of the Tongan population, among whom such marriages were regarded as a chiefly prerogative, not to be exercised by commoners. Marriages to relatives as shown by the Ata genealogy (Table 15) were as follows:

10-11: Man to mother's father's sister.
14-15: Man to father's sister's daughter.
19-20: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-22: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-24: Man to father's sister's daughter.
25-26: Man to father's sister's daughter.
27-28: Man to father's sister's daughter.
29-30: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
34-35: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
39-40: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
41-42: Man to mother's brother's son's daughter.
43-44: Man to mother's father's sister's son's daughter.
48-49: Man to mother's father's son's daughter.
36-38: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
57-58: Man to mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
70-71: Man to mother's sister's daughter.
73-74: Man to mother's paternal half sister's daughter.
92-93: Man to father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter.
94-95: Man to father's paternal half sister's son's daughter.

A /See Category 173, End Table A-C --Analyst/

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo,* are believed to be caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo" (The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama* refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga.* No other informant, however, gave this term and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua.* Ana Manu of Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

that there were at least twelve or thirteen different garrisoned places upon the island; each, in a state of warfare with all the rest, was determined to maintain its claims as long as it had strength to do so. Thus was the island of Tonga, to which war had hitherto been a stranger, torn by civil strife, and at times given up a prey to famine, a situation worse perhaps than that under the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo. Besides their domestic troubles, every year they were disturbed by attacks from Finow, who made it his annual custom to make a descent upon one or other of their fortresses, and sometimes upon several of them in the same season; but they were all so well fortified and intrenched, that their enemy, however powerful, consisting of the Hapai people, under the command of Finow, and the Vavaoo people, under that of Toobó Nuha, had never succeeded, at the time of Mr. Mariner's first arrival, in taking or destroying a single fort; that is to say, during the space of seven or eight years.

This piece of history Mr. Mariner heard not only from Finow, but also from Toobo Nuha, Tooitonga, and a number of other chiefs, as well also, though in detached portions, from several of the inhabitants of the island of Tonga, and has found an uniform agreement and con-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

sistency in all their accounts. From this it will appear, that at the time of Captain Cook's visit, the whole of Tonga, (that is to say the island of Tonga, the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,) was under the sole dominion of Toogoo Ahoo, whose seat of government was on the island of Tonga, and who received tributes from Finow, chief of the Hapai islands, and from Voona*, chief of Vavaoo: that at the time of Mr. Mariner's first arrival the island of Tonga was, and had been for several years, divided into various petty states, all at war with one another; whilst Finow was king of the Hapai islands and Vavaoo, and Toobó Nuha only tributary chief of the latter place.

Mr. Mariner and those of his companions who were with him at the island of Lefooga, (and were four in number,) received orders from the king to prepare for the usual annual attack upon the island of Tonga, and to get ready four 12 pound carronades. They immediately set to work, to mount them upon new carriages with high wheels, made by the native carpenters, under their directions. This being done, Finow

* Voona, it is related, did not pay his tributes regularly as he ought to have done, but being a powerful chief, and his possessions so far from the seat of government, Toogoo Ahoo had never ventured to take hostile measures.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

line accidentally breaking, the act was incomplete, and matters were left as they now are. They show a hole in the rock, about two feet diameter, which quite perforates it, and in which Tangaloa's hook got fixed. It is moreover said that Tooitonga (the divine chief) had, till within a few years, this very hook in his possession, which had been handed down to him by his forefathers; but, unfortunately, his house catching fire, the basket in which the hook was kept got burnt with its contents. Mr. Mariner once asked Tooitonga what sort of a hook it was, and was told that it was made of tortoise-shell, strengthened by a piece of the bone of a whale: in size and shape it was just like a large albacore hook, measuring six or seven inches long, from the curve to the part where the line was attached, and an inch and a half between the barb and the stem. Mr. Mariner objected that such a hook must have been too weak for the purpose; Oh no, said Tooitonga, you must recollect that it was a god's hook, and could not break;—how came then the *line* to break? was it not also the property of a god?—I do not know how that was, replied Tooitonga; but such is the account they give, and I know nothing farther about it.

A few days after this excursion, Finow having portioned out several of the smaller

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

687 87 lishmen were much indebted to him, as well
157 as to the other two, for many acts of kind-
ness.

D 124 Mr. Mariner heard the foregoing relation from Talo, and two or three others that were in the large canoe, and considers it strictly consonant with the truth.

764 The widows of those who were executed on
152 the beach in the morning, and of those who were dispatched at the small island in their way out to sea, petitioned Finow to grant them leave to perform the usual rites of burial in behalf of their deceased husbands, which the king readily acceded to: and they accomplished the ceremony with every mark of unfeigned sorrow and regret. When the last [668] affectionate remembrances of Nowfaho were made to his widow, she appeared greatly moved; for, though she scarcely wept, her countenance betrayed marks of violent inward agitation: she retired to her house, and, arming herself with a spear and club, went about to seek for the other widows, who had lost their husbands in the same way, and urged them to take up arms, as she had done, and go forth to revenge their husbands' death, by destroying the wives of Finow, and his principal chiefs; finding, at length, that none of the others were willing to follow her example, she

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

crews being so weakened, might be taken (as they supposed), with ease. The entertainment was prepared, and Captain Cook and several officers being invited were present; it happened, however, a little before the appointed time when the signal was to be given, that most of the chiefs still expressed their opinion that the night-time would have been better than the day, and Finow, finding that the majority were of this opinion, was much vexed, and immediately forbad it to be done at all. Thus, no signal being given, the amusements went on without interruption, and Captain Cook and his officers were much pleased with their entertainment, acknowledging it to be far better than any other that they had received at the Friendly islands. (See his third voyage.) Mr. Mariner had this information at different times from several chiefs who were present, and in particular from Finow himself, (the father of the present king, and son of the chief who was at the head of the conspiracy.)

As every information must be interesting which regards the history or fate of this great and good man, to whom society owes so much, we cannot omit mentioning some circumstances, subsequent to his death, upon which the above anecdote so naturally leads the mind to reflect. The people of the Tonga islands behaved towards Cook with every external demonstration

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Mr. Mariner took particular pains to make enquiries respecting the above extraordinary story, with a view to discover whether it was only a corrupted relation of the Mosaic account; and he found that it was not universally known to the Tonga people. Most of the chiefs and matabooles were acquainted with it, but the bulk of the people seemed totally ignorant of it. This led him at first to suspect that the chiefs had obtained the leading facts from some of our modern missionaries, and had interwoven it with their own notions; but the oldest men affirmed their positive belief that it was an ancient traditionary record, and that it was founded in truth. It seems strange that they should believe an account which serves so much to degrade them, and makes even their very chiefs to be descendants of bad men, cursed by their father with the evils of poverty and ignorance. Nevertheless, they readily own the superiority of the Papalangies, not only in knowledge, but disposition to do good; but, on the other hand, they do not as readily confess themselves to lie under a malediction: on the contrary, they maintain that they are far superior to us in personal beauty, and though we have more instruments and riches, they think that they could make a better use of them if they only had them in their possession. Of the chiefs

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

and matabooles who related the foregoing account, some believed it firmly, others left it as they found it, none positively disbelieved it. Mr. Mariner related to them our scriptural and traditionary account of Cain and Abel, and expressed his opinion, that they must have received their information either from the missionaries, or from some Papalangi at an early period, whom accident had thrown among them; but some still persisted that it was an original tradition of their own, whilst others owned there was so great a similarity between the two accounts, that they were disposed to believe they had received theirs from us, perhaps two or three or four generations back. But such things do not very often form a subject of conversation among them; consequently their knowledge and belief of these matters (as they have no writings) become very vague, incongruous, and uncertain.

They have several other accounts of the origin of mankind, or rather of the first inhabitants of Tonga; but most of them are not only ridiculous but very confused and indeterminate, and, as Mr. Mariner believes, many are of no greater antiquity than the present generation, and invented perhaps for the purpose of passing away time for lack of better conversation, most of the natives being very fond of inventing

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the Tonga people deny it, unwilling to think that the residence of the gods should be encumbered with so much useless rubbish. The natives of Otaheite entertain similar notions respecting these things, viz. that brutes, plants, and stones, exist hereafter (see Captain Cook's Voyage), but it is not mentioned that they extend the idea to objects of human invention. Mr. Mariner is not acquainted with the notions of the Sandwich islanders upon these subjects: what we have related respecting those of the Fiji people he obtained from Fiji natives resident at Vavaoo, from Tonga people who had visited the Fiji islands, and from the natives of Pau, when he was there.

The human soul, after its separation from the body, is termed a *hotooa* (a god or spirit), and is believed to exist in the shape of the body; to have the same propensities as during life, but to be corrected by a more enlightened understanding, by which it readily distinguishes good from evil, truth from falsehood, right from wrong; having the same attributes as the original gods, but in a minor degree, and having its dwelling for ever in the happy regions of Bolotoo, holding the same rank in regard to other souls as during this life: it has, however, the power of returning to Tonga to inspire priests, relations, or others, or to appear in dreams to those it wishes to admonish; and

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

their being priests, unless when actually inspired, and hold no known conferences together, as an allied body. Mr. Mariner frequently associated with them, knew their general conduct, and inquired the opinion of all classes of the natives respecting them; and, after all, has no reason to think that they combine together for the purpose of deceiving the people. He found nothing that he conceived very remarkable in their general character: if there was any difference between them and the rest of the natives, it was that they were *rather* more given to reflection, and somewhat more taciturn, and probably greater observers of what was going forward. They have no peculiarity of dress to distinguish them. The most remarkable of their prophecies, if they deserve that name, are those mentioned vol. i. on the occasion of a young chief being inspired by a female spirit from Bolotoo; and on that of the illness of Finow and his daughter, when one became better the other became worse, as the priest foretold. The priests associate with the chiefs as much as other matabooles and mooas; and, although Tooitonga and Veachi are considered divine chiefs, still they have no more to do with the priests, nor are they any otherwise connected with them, nor related to them, than are other chiefs.

Having thus far given a general view of the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

his right shoulder, his right hand partially twisting the *fow*, lays the end which it holds upon the left elbow, so that the *fow* lies thus extended upon that arm, one end being still grasped by the left hand. The right hand being now at liberty, is brought under the left fore arm (which still remains in the same situation), and carried outwardly towards the left elbow, that it may again seize in that situation the end of the *fow*. The right hand then describes a bold curve outwardly from the chest, whilst the left comes across the chest, describing a curve nearer to him, and in the opposite direction, till at length the left hand is extended from him, and the right approaches to the left shoulder, gradually twisting the *fow* by the turn and flexures principally of that wrist: this double motion is then retraced, but in such a way (the left wrist now principally acting), that the *fow*, instead of being untwisted, is still more twisted, and is at length again placed upon the left arm, while he takes a new and less constrained hold *. Thus the hands and arms per-

[124] * This is described from seeing Mr. Mariner mimic the action; and I have given a minute account of it, because it is an operation which the natives greatly admire when well performed. Jeremiah Higgins was singularly pleased with the accuracy of the description, which he said brought past times so clearly to his mind. Every thing, in short, tends to prove to me the correctness of Mr. Mariner's details.

115
124
127
128

[For scattered references to informants' names, documentary sources, and translators, see Category 116.]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately both the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in the following pages are drawn from these sources.

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version.

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delectation of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whittington's Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses, and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals.

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the original Tongan text.

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they constitute a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from Tongans as well as from Europeans.

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, a scion of the Tui Tonga's house.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fakamolemole a houeiki mo ngaohi haa,
He oku mamao mo faingataa ae faanga;
Koe tolutalu nae tuu holo he ngahi halanga
Kuo fuu puli pea alu mo hono toutangata.
Ka ne ongo ene vao fihi mo tevavaa,

Kae fai pe ha vavaku mo sia faala
Kia Touiafutuna, koe uluaki maka
Nae fai mei ai hotau kamataanga.
Kehe koe talatupua ia mo fananga,

Oku utuutu mei ai sii kau faa.

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
But although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

My thanks are due to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, to the Prince Consort William Tungi, to Messrs. W. H. Murley, J. P. Maatu, E. E. V. Collocott, and to Mrs. Rachel Tonga for generously allowing me to use unpublished tales which they had recorded. The Methodist and Catholic churches, through their representatives, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, Rev. E. E. V. Collocott, and His Lordship Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc, courteously placed the old manuscripts in their archives at my disposal. For the patient and painstaking work of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker in translating hundreds of pages of Tongan text I am especially grateful. To others I am indebted for similar work, to wit: Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. E. E. V. Collocott, Mr. W. H. Murley, Mr. William Finau, Miss Georgina Sutherland and Miss Lena Hettig. Acknowledgment of the help of various Tongans who related stories is made in connection with their contributions.

Two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language offer a choice in orthography. One is the compilation of the Catholic Missionaries of the Marist Brotherhood,[1] and the other is the compilation of the Reverend Shirley W. Baker.[2] I have, with one exception, elected to follow the orthography set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais because it conforms more closely to the orthography of other Polynesian dialects. In the present paper sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and the consonants are *f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t,* and *v*. *Ng* is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Catholic dictionary and Baker's dictionary.

Baker's dictionary differs from the Catholic dictionary in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone. Consequently, in

[1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Paris, Ch. Chadenat, 1890.

[2] Baker, Shirley W., An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of idiomatic phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

there. But not yet did those two know each other. They were still innocent and went about naked, for they were not ashamed. So it was until one day when they went to bathe in the sea and were lying face downwards with their feet in the water. The tide was flooding and began to break upon their feet. On and on it came, until it covered their bodies. *Subito piscis qui oo appellabatur, unda adlapsus cunnum puellae exhauriebat.* She was in pain and cried and kicked her feet about in the sand, because of the suffering caused by the oo's sucking. Neither she nor her brother knew what to do to relieve her agony. *Molliter cunnum manu mulcebat; reque tamen ex eo puella quam minimum solatium cepit. Denique penem inseruit et ex eo magnum solatium cepit.* That was the beginning of their knowledge and they cohabited regularly thereafter."

Garbled verbal accounts of the cosmogony were obtained from various informants. In one of these, the three human beings created from the maggot or worm are designated as a man, a woman, and a third person. The woman is called Kohai, the man Momo, and the name of the third was forgotten. The three names, however, are assigned a mystic significance, Kohai standing for the future, Momo for the present, and the third name for the past. This is probably a connotation introduced solely by the raconteur, James Lilo, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai.

In certain of the accounts a clear distinction is made between the islands fished up by the Maui (Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, Niua, and Samoa) and those which they did not fish up.

> "They did not fish up Kao, Tofua, Hunga Haapai, Hunga Tonga, Late, or Fonualei [all volcanic islands]. Nor was all of Fiji fished up. The countries that were not fished up were thrown down from heaven. Therefore they are called the land-stones (*makafonua*) of Hikuleo, the maker of all the countries that are full of unevenness, that jump backward and forward [i.e., are subject to earthquakes] and that are full of holes and pits, for they are the countries which were not fished up by the Maui."

A brief version of the Maui land-fishing story told by Lie, a man of Koulo, Lifuka island, Haapai, makes Eua the starting point of the expedition, makes the woman, who becomes enamoured of one of the Maui, the daughter of the hook owner instead of his wife, and makes the first land hauled up Rarotonga instead of Tokelau.

An important text dealing with the origin of the wind and of various food plants forms a sequel to the tale about the creation of man on Ata. This text, which might appropriately have formed part of the series published by Father Reiter in Anthropos, was courteously placed at my disposal by the Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc of Tonga. Because of the importance of the tale I present the original Tongan text as

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Pea o hifo leva ae hopa mei langi, ke tuu i Ata. Ko hono hingoa oe hopa koia, koe putalinga, koe hopa fungani lelei; ka oku ikai ha hopa ilaloni; ka koe tupu mei langi ae hopa koe putalinga. Pea toki movete ai o tuu kotoape i he fonua kehekehe; ka koe o hifo mei langi o fua tuu i Ata. Koe ngoue o Laufakanaa, pea o hifo ai leva moe akau koe si, hono hingoa. Aeni oku tuo hono foha o ngau, pea ngaahi aki ae ma o hingoa koe poopooi, pea ngaahiaki ai mea kai kehekehe; he koe akau oku lelei, pea aonga; he oku kau foki ki he ngaahi mea kai kotoape.

And the native banana was brought down from the sky and planted at Ata. The name of that banana is *putalinga*, a very nice banana; there was no banana here below, but originally there came from the sky the banana *putalinga*. Then it was scattered and it grew in all the different lands; however it came from the sky and first grew at Ata. Its (appearance on earth) was the work of Laufakanaa, and (he) also brought the plant called *si*. The root of this is baked and chewed, and is also cooked with native bread, and is called *poopooi*, and other kinds of food are made from it; because it is a very good root, and useful; therefore it is used in many kinds of food.

ı o hifo foki ae ufi; ko hono hingoa koe nguata, koe o hifo ia ke tuu i Ata. Pea o hifo foki ae ufi e taha, koe tuaata, hono hingoa, o o hifo foki ia o tuu i Ata. He koe ngaahi akau kai koia, koe tupu mei Ata. Pea koe toki fakatupu kehekehe e ngaahi tevolo niihi ae meakai kehekehe. He kou osi ae talanoa ki Ata.

And the yam was brought down also; its name is *nguata*, and it was brought down to plant at Ata. And was brought down another yam, called *tuaata*, which was planted at Ata. All these food plants grew first on Ata. And then some of the gods created other kinds of food plants. That is all of the narrative about Ata.

The printed Tongan tales of the origin of the first Tongan land do not make it clear whether the Ata island, which the myths designate together with Eua island as the first land, is the low Ata island lying a few miles north of Tongatabu or the lofty and probably volcanic Ata or Pylstaart island lying more than fifty miles south of Tongatabu. Collocott maintains that it is the adjacent island that is meant and several elderly natives whom I interviewed held the same view. Among these natives were two former inhabitants of the distant Ata or Pylstaart. Furthermore, Tongan legends place the discovery of Pylstaart only a few generations ago.

On the other hand, Bishop Blanc[17] takes the stand that it is the distant Ata or Pylstaart that is referred to in the myths, thus making the two first created lands (Eua and Ata) both lofty in contradistinction to the low-lying Tongatabu, later hauled to the surface with Maui's fish hook. Commander Wilkes, U. S. N.,[17a] and the Reverend Walter Lawry[17b] explicitly state (both from the same missionary source) that the Ata referred to is Pylstaart. No modern native evidence supports these assertions. However, Maafu's account[18] of the land-fishing of the Maui makes mention of

[17] P. Soane Malia, Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique, chapter 3, Librarie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, 1910, Lyon, Paris.

[17a] Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N., Narrative of the U. S. Expl. Exped., 1838-1842, vol. 3, p. 23, Philadelphia, 1845.

[17b] Lawry, Walter, Friendly and Feejee Islands, 2nd ed., p. 113, London, 1858.

[18] Fison, Lorimer, Tales from Old Fiji, page 144, London, 1907.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES OF FISH GODS

539 776 Three deities are concerned in this group of tales, namely Tui Tofua, Fakapatu, and Seketoa, who reside, respectively, at Tofua and Moungaone islands in the Haapai group, and at Niuatoputapu island. Tui Tofua and Seketoa are believed to be transformed men.

776 793 [539] In one version of the tale concerning the contest with Fakapatu another fish god is mentioned, namely Taufatahi, who was rather an important deity in the Tongan pantheon and one for whom, at least in Tongatabu, a priest and a sacred precinct were established. In 1921 a priest of this god was living at Mua, Tongatabu. His name was Kautai.

539 [124] [128] Six versions of the tale about the origin of the shark god Tui Tofua were obtained and three of them are printed in this collection. The variations in the other three are as follows:

The tale as told by Samson Latu of Haafeva island, Haapai, transposes the names of the father and son in the story, making Tui Tofua the father and Vakafuhu the son. It is the latter who is transformed into a man-eating mud shark (*tenifa*). Vakafuhu's canoe became the rock known as Tolungamaka. After the offerings were made by relatives to Vakafuhu and his companions, small black volcanic pebbles, such as are used on Tongan graves today, appeared for the first time on the beach of Siuatama, Tofua island. They were used on the graves of the men who were transformed into sharks, for such were the instructions which Vakafuhu had transmitted through a Samoan companion who was not transformed.

Samuel Pele, of Falelua, Foa island, Haapai group, adds to his version an account of the struggle between the fish god Tui Tofua and the fish god Seketoa from Niuatoputapu, a deity of similar origin; Tui Tofua taking the form of the sokisoki, a spiny fish and entering his rival's stomach. In this version the little finger of the Samoan is severed and becomes a shark instead of a porpoise as in another version. The approach of Tui Tofua and his accompanying sharks is heralded by a discoloration of the sea. The tale relates that should a vessel sink near Tofua or Kotu island, no one will lose his life, because Tui Tofua, the protecting deity is near.

The version related by Paul Taufiaevalu, of Nukualofa, states that the hero, the son of the king of Tofua, had just returned from Samoa with his followers, where he had gone to be tattooed. In this version the son commits fornication with his father's concubines during his father's absence. Upon the latter's return, the son and all of his comrades are condemned to death. The condemned youths seek escape by jumping into the sea and becoming sharks. There were six of them in all. The young chief sent word to his father by a Samoan follower that he intended to become a

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES ABOUT MUNI

539 The tale of Munimatamahae (Muni-of-the-torn-eye) is one of the most popular of the extant Tongan tales, being widely current in Haapai, the central province of the kingdom and the scene of much of the story.

124 I heard the tale from thirteen persons. In addition the tale has been
113 published twice in verse and twice in prose in the Tongan magazines of
114 the Methodist and Catholic churches. The tale has also appeared in Folk Lore[88], translated into English by the Reverend G. Brown, whose version is based on the Tongan poem and explanation appearing in the Methodist magazine.

128 I reproduce here the Catholic poem and the Methodist poem and ex-
127 planation in Tongan accompanied by a translation. In the notes which follow I have embodied the details of the accounts from twelve living Tongans, insofar as they differ from the account published in Folk-Lore and those published herewith.

539 Several accounts specify that Muni's mother was sitting either on the starboard or the port side of the vessel when she was seized and killed. In some accounts it is stated that the chief of the vessel ordered that a "root" be struck off from the port (or starboard) side. The position of the vessel at the time that the woman was murdered is in some versions specified as near Luangahu island. One account states that the vessel was between Nomuka and Lekeleka islands in the southern portion of the Haapai group.

Four versions state that the chief of the vessel was the Tui Tonga himself, who was on his way to Vavau or Samoa. In one of these four he is specifically called Tuitatui, who was the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. In another he is called the Tui Tonga from Tukutonga, a place two or three miles east of Nukualofa, Tongatabu island.

A version of the story by John Tupou, of Nukualofa, Tongatabu, gives the name of Muni's mother as Tetele.

The beach on Lofanga where Muni was cast ashore is called Pake in one version, Siumalu in another, and Muni in the Catholic prose version.

The fishing expedition on which an attempt was made to get rid of Muni by scuttling the boat on which he went to sleep is variously stated as being to Nukupule island or Niniva island, neither far distant from Lofanga. In one version only is the scuttling of the boat attributed to Muni's foster parents. In all others it is laid at the door of Muni's hostile fellow islanders.

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[88] Folk-Lore, vol. 27, pp. 426-430, 1916.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE ADVENTURES OF LONGOPOA AND KAE [104]

In addition to the versions of the adventures of Longopoa and Kae published herewith, two other versions were obtained, one from Sakalaiia Vao of Felemea, Uiha, Haapai, and the other from Josiah Paluto, of Pangai, Lifuka, Haapai. These versions differ but slightly from those which I reproduce. The differences are set forth below.

Vao's story characterizes Loau as the Tui Tonga and states that he had two residences in Tongatabu, Fualu near Pea and Fonuamotu in Mua. The vessel that Loau sailed in is called a *tongiaki*, which is the ancient type of double canoe. The statement in John Tupou's version that Loau sailed in a *kalia* (the double canoe introduced from Fiji) is an anachronism. Loau's vessel, in Vao's version, approaches a reef on which are a pandanus and a great rock. Loau ordered his crew to go on to the reef. As the vessel touched, two men leaped ashore, Longopoa into the pandanus tree and Kae on to the great rock. The vessel with all aboard plunged to the bottom of the sea. Kae escaped from the island of the huge bird *kanivatu* by clinging to the feathers on the under side of one wing of the bird, instead of to the feathers on the leg or on the breast as in other versions.

Vao develops somewhat the initial conversation between Sinilau and Kae, making the former apologize for the poverty of his really prosperous community and the latter tell of the fate of Loau's expedition to the edge of the world. According to Vao's version, upon Kae's departure, Sinilau instructed him to go with the twin whales to the weather shore of Tongatabu, but Kae disobeyed and went to the lee shore. Kae was requested to send back some turmeric and in addition the articles enumerated in the other versions. The ingratitude of Kae is magnified in Vao's version by putting in his mouth the following words about Sinilau's rooster which he heard crowing at dawn: "At daylight I shall kill and eat that rooster for he crows like Sinilau's rooster." At daylight, however, Kae saw that he was in truth back in Sinilau's house, so he sat humbly with bowed head and felt very sorry for his misdeeds. Soon Sinilau entered and upbraided him, and finished by giving Kae to his followers, who took him outside and killed and ate him.

Paluto's version dwells upon the mockery of Loau's people over the farewells that were said preparatory to the make-believe voyages indulged in by Loau upon the surface of the artificial pool in Haamea in Tongatabu. Finally the remarks reached Loau's ears and he resolved to take the scoffers on a real voyage to the horizon. Fiji is mentioned as one of the

[104] An English version of this tale appears in Folk-Lore, vol. 28, pp. 94-99, 1917, signed by the Reverend G. Brown.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

aries Maristes (29), Hazlewood (24), Pratt (32), and, to a less extent, to other dictionaries of Polynesian languages.

In my possession is a book (7), in which are pencilled notes giving some of the native names of plants, I think, by Mr. Crosby. I thank Mr. Crosby for this kindness to one who is a stranger to him. Yet comparatively few of the plants are thus distinguished, and it is to be hoped that recent botanical work in Tonga will fill in the large gaps. To Mr. E. W. Gifford I owe Graffe's very useful list of the birds of Tonga, with native, scientific, and many popular names. To him also am I indebted for some of the poems in this collection, and, jointly with Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, for a copy of the "Royal and Chiefs' Genealogies." The published papers of the late Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton, and his unpublished papers (31) have provided much material. I would also thank my colleague, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, for frequent assistance. For the use of Tukuaho's Diary, I am indebted to his son, His Royal Higness Prince Tungi.

For the tunes I am indebted to my old pupil Mr. Manoa Havea, to my wife, and to Mr. S. Jackling, of Albury, New South Wales. Some airs were written down for me by Mr. Havea, and others were sung by my wife from memory and written by Mr. Jackling. My wife's idiomatic and facile use of the Tongan language, her ability to place herself in relations of easy familiarity with the people, and her keen interest in all that concerned them have made me her constant debtor. To Tongan friends my obligations are endless, and full acknowledgment is not possible; but in especial would I thank His Royal Highness Tungi, the late Hon. Tupoutoa, Miss Alice Ahio, many of my old pupils, both boys and girls, at the Tupou College, Nukualofa, and boys of the newer section of the Tupou College at Nafualu, in especial Manoa Havea, J. Havili, and F. Penitani.

But most of all do I owe to my friend and colleague at the Tupou College, the Rev. John Havea. Tongan poetry, condensed, pregnant, is full of allusions which require an intimate knowledge of the circumstances referred to for their understanding. This applies to the compositions of contemporaries. Much of the language and many of the allusions of the poetry of an earlier, even comparatively recent, time are unintelligible to most living Tongans. Without Mr. Havea's help this work would have been impossible. What there is of fair interpretation of Tongan ways of thought in it is owing to him, and I count myself fortunate to have had many years of close association and intimate friendship with a man so intelligently interested in the past and bravely hopeful for the future of his people. I would have this paper be a memorial of our many conversations, often extending far into the night, either in his room or in mine, at Nafualu.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

538 [276] 594 [656] Kava parties were sometimes entertained by rival poets. Such competition evidently reached a high degree of development. It is said that competitions in reciting (*po-sipi*), night of reciting, were stopped by the Government in these latter days because of the feeling engendered. Sometimes poets recited prepared compositions, but at other times they improvised. The chief Tukuaho, a distinguished patron of the arts who died in the latter part of the nineteenth century, is reported to have organized a contest in poetry between a man from Vavau, a man from Nomuka, a man named Siliva, and a woman from Hihifo. Each recited what had been prepared, and then went on to improvise. The bards of Nomuka and Vavau came to a stop without finishing properly; Siliva and the woman both finished well, but Siliva was adjudged to have finished best and to have won.

538 175 A poet may recite (*laulau*) his own, or another's compositions or teach them to bands of singers or dancers. Skillful bards were valued companions of chiefs. Poets and storytellers sometimes spent the night with chiefs, to amuse them should they be wakeful. A composition to amuse a chief at night was called *tatoka* (literally, sleeping with). The "Weather coast of Selenga" (p. 106) is so called.

[121] The poems here presented have not been specially selected. They are probably representative, certainly when taken with those published by Gifford (21, 22). The prominence of the natural beauties of their homeland among the subjects chosen by the bards has been noted by other writers, and is at once apparent. Much of the poetry is topical. Mariner says, (28, vol. 2, p. 217) "One of these songs describes the principal events during Captain Cook's visit . . . . Another describes the visit of Admiral d'Entrecasteaux. Another the revolution of Tonga, and the famous battle that was there fought." So today notable events are chronicled by the bards. Gifford (23) mentions a poem in his possession describing the entrance of German war-vessels into Vavau Harbor at the time of the ratification of the treaty between Germany and Tonga. Songs composed to accompany dances on any important occasion contain numerous references to events and persons connected with the celebrations. During a visit to Niua Toputapu at a time when vigorous and successful measures were being taken to cope with the great enemy of the coconut, the rhinoceros beetle, which had lately made its way into that island, I found two songs in vogue describing the efforts made to deal with the pest, and celebrating the care and vigilance of the gentleman in charge, Mr. Michael Miller, Miki Mila in the poems. The hunting for beetles, grubs, and larvae, and the boiling of the grubs and larvae in a kerosene tin (*kapa kalasini*) syllables which, however prosaic their meaning, are not to be despised for their rhythm, [124] were all celebrated by the muse. A member of the party with which I visited the island was a very high chief, who stayed in the house next to

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

the one in which I lived. A choir of men entertained the chief at nights, singing, among other things, the compositions dealing with the rhinoceros beetle. My wish to hear these pieces becoming known to him, he courteously sent the choir to sing them to me, and I had the words written down.

Love poems are called *hivo kakala*, songs of sweet-smelling flowers, of which some modern specimens are given (p. 125). A collection of modern poems, including pieces for dances, might be enlarged indefinitely. What are presented are fairly typical. Direct references to passion are remarkably rare, except in present-day compositions. Instead, the poet speaks of pleasing sights and sounds and fragrances, and the imagination must supply the circumstance that the lover would fain walk with his mistress in these pleasant places, frequent festivals with her, give to her, or receive at her hands, sweet-smelling garlands and flowers.

There are other poems in which wooing is represented under the image of hunting the pigeon. Other images, for example fishing, may be so employed. This reserve is characteristic of the Tongans, who are a proud and self-controlled people.

Mariner speaks of the frequency with which Samoan songs are used as accompaniments to dances. Perhaps he overstates this; but Samoan verses, not understood and often corrupted, are frequently sung. There is also a marked tendency to embellish compositions with foreign words and phrases, Samoan, Fijian, and, today, English. Sometimes these loan words are intelligible to the Tongans; but, whether understood or not, they evidently please by their sound. The language of poetry is remarkably terse and pregnant. Almost invariably each line is complete in itself. I have translated line for line. It has been difficult to avoid making the English of these pithy verses bald and harsh. Anyone desiring a good idiomatic knowledge of the language could scarcely do better than study the poetry. The language is terse, forceful, idiomatic, and such as is used in ordinary conversation. It does not always conform to the organizations attempted in printed grammars. The way in which the Tongan speaks is not always quite that in which his European grammarians thinks he must have intended to speak.

MAMAEAEPOTO AND FALEPALANGI

Two famous bards lived in the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of their poems are composed in rivalry with one another. Mamaeaepoto belonged to Vavau, though it is clear he came to spend a good deal of time with the chiefs of Tongatabu. Falepapalangi belonged to the western (*hihifo*) district of Tongatabu. Both were deformed; Mamaeaepoto had misshapen hands, and Falepapalangi had deformed feet.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tu'ula he tata'anga lei,
Ifi e kele'a ta moe vehi.
Pehe ni ha 'aho kou ma 'i heni;
Mate 'ofa he enau nofo holo,
Taupala 'e he taka tolo,

Tama 'ae fuifui pule'oto,[28]
'O tu'ula 'i he vao motelolo.
Angi mai angi he he-'ia
Langi faka-sinifu e nofo.

Light on the place where ivory is carved,
Blow the conch, beat the drum.
'Twas such a day that we were here;[27]
How I love their sitting about,
Frequenting of those who come to the games,[28]

The chief with necklace of *puleoto*,
And they gather amongst the *motelolo*."[29]
Blow hither, blow, *he, he'ia*,
Choir of women farewell."[30]

On the Death of the Tui Tonga

Very unfortunately the record of this very ancient poem has been mutilated. The effort to recover the missing lines from the memory of a very able Tongan who had read them was unsuccessful. Four lines and the greater part of a fifth are missing.

Neu tu'u 'i Langi-'e-he-tupua,
Mana-foli lupe otu fonua,

Na'i Mata-'o-peka mo Vei-tuna,
Faka'ofa 'e Malama-'i-saua,
Koe tu'i 'o mama mo 'otua.
Tanumanga ne tu'u moe tatau,

Tu'u ai 'Ala-'i-vaha-mama'o;
Koe Tu'a-niu hala kuo mao.

Na'i Lupe 'o Manono mo Fualu
Tu'u (he?).....evalu
(four lines)
Ko homau Tu'i ka maliu atu
'Oafio 'i Pulotu-tu'u-ma'u
'Ae toki pata 'e asihau
'I he ene taulalo 'a Vava'u.
Ho he.

I stood in Langiehetupua,'
Pigeons flew ominous throughout the lands,'

Ah, poor Mataopeka and Veituna,'
Malamaisaua moves pity,'
King of earth and a god.'
That which is buried was there with the screen,'

Alaivahamamao stood there;'
The Midrib-of-the-coconut-leaflet is dead, what a thing has happened.'
Dear Pigeon of Manono and Fualu'
Stood.....eight'
(four lines)
Our King is returning thither
To reign in Pulotutuumau."
Then the king's attendants rejoice"
When Vavau sinks out of sight."
Ho he."

Koe Takipo o Nau

When a very great chief dies fires are kept burning throughout the night round the house in which the body is lying. This ceremony, which is called *takipo*, has been witnessed twice on a large scale in Nukualofa during recent years, once on the death of Fatafehi, Tui Pelehake, in 1912, and again in 1918 when King George Tupou II died. During the nights in which the king's body was lying in state, the Palace enclosure was surrounded by hundreds of torches, tended by people who sat noiseless. Each light was burning over a little hearth, called *fakaolaanga*, formed of a tray (*pola*) of plaited coconut leaf, on which were laid pieces of the stem of the plantain tree, covered with a layer of sand. To bring the sand for this purpose is *fala mai ae one one*.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

STONE CONSTRUCTION

KIND AND SOURCE OF MATERIALS

In building mounds, platforms, monuments, fortifications, walls, enclosures and miscellaneous structures, the ancient Tongans made large use of stone. The most common structures are masses of loose earth and gravel supported by retaining walls of both natural and dressed stones. Two kinds of stone were available, basalt and limestone. The basalt is on volcanic islands not conveniently near the larger, more densely populated coral islands; moreover, it is difficult to work with primitive tools. Though many native stories tell of *makahuna* (volcanic rock) brought from distant islands and extensively used, I saw only a few, small, undressed pieces of basalt forming part of the old structures. Limestone, however, is abundant, easily accessible, and presents varieties suitable for various purposes. The limestone forming the reef itself is massive, rough, compact, and without cleavage planes helpful to the mason. Though difficult to quarry, it possesses great strength and is the source of the thick long blocks needed for the largest structures. The kind of limestone commonly used (locally called "sandstone") consists of the lime sand of the beaches blown onto the shore and inland where it becomes consolidated into a stratified rock. Because it is composed of a series of superposed layers, it is easily quarried and broken into rectangular slabs suitable for retaining walls.

QUARRYING METHODS

Stone quarries are to be found at many places where suitable rock outcrops. Quarries of considerable extent were observed on the islands of Lifuka, Mango, Uiha, and Ualeva in the Haapai group, and on Motutapu and Pangaimotu in Tongatabu. The largest quarry seen is on the northeast shore of Motutapu Island, where a bed rock 50 yards in length has been exposed and intensively worked. The stone slabs obtained from the quarry were 0.7 foot to 1.5 feet in thickness. Among the largest intaglios marking the removal of slabs is one which measures 10.5 by 6.3 feet by 0.6 foot, another, 10 by 6 feet by 0.6 foot, and a third, 9 by 8 feet by 1 foot. On some slabs, quarrying had been begun but not completed. The information obtained from these remnants of unfinished work regarding the successive stages of operations coincides exactly with that gathered from living informants.

The procedure was as follows. An area of desired size and shape was marked out on the rock surface. Large axes (*toki lahi*), fashioned of basalt and finished with faces tapering abruptly away from a blunt edge, were then employed to cut a groove around this outlined area. This groove was carried

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The following descriptions include all of the pigeon mounds which a thorough survey of the island could discover. The accuracy of the names cannot be vouched for, as they were supplied by a single informant, the only man found who professed to have any knowledge of the names. Three mounds, Nos. 8, 9, and 10, are classed as pigeon mounds because closely associated with structures known to be pigeon mounds. Native informants were of the opinion that they were used by the pigeon snarers in some capacity, possibly as temporary dwelling sites for the chiefs engaged in the sport. They are like the pigeon mounds which they neighbor except for the absence of any trace of a central pit or basin.

2. Finevalafililolo, in central southern Ualeva, Type II (fig. 6).

Finevalafililolo is composed of a mixture of sand and earth. The centrally placed pit has retaining walls of dressed rectangular slabs of coral stone averaging 3.5 feet in length, 0.7 foot in thickness and standing 2 feet out of the ground. The flat floor of the basin is of earth. The mound is surrounded at irregular intervals by ten funnel-shaped pits averaging 10 feet in depth and 25 to 30 feet in diameter, situated from 25 to 75 feet from the mound base. They are said to have furnished the earth from which the mound is constructed.

3. Siaulufotu, at the south end of Ualeva Island, Type II (fig. 7).

The sloping sides of Siaulufotu are surfaced with stone work consisting of an inner base of rough, loosely piled fragments and an outer coating intact only in places, of rectangular, roughly dressed slabs laid flat, their edges fitting together haphazardly (fig. 7, *c*). These slabs are 2 to 6 feet long, 1.5 to 4 feet wide and 0.3 foot to 0.5 foot thick. The largest slab in place measures 6 by 4 feet by 0.5 foot. The central depression is surrounded by rectangularly dressed slabs of stone averaging slightly more than 3 feet in length, 0.6 foot in thickness, and which stand 2 feet above ground and 1 foot below the bottom of the flat earthen floored basin. A steeply inclined dirt roadway from the northwest leading to the top of the mound is paved with rough stones of varying sizes, their flat sides turned upward to make a comparatively smooth surface.

Siaulufotu is entirely surrounded by a ditch or series of connected pits, 30 feet wide and 12 feet deep, which stands 40 to 50 feet from the mound base. It is thought to have furnished earth for the construction of the mound. Near the northernmost base of the mound is a flat bottomed well called Vaisioata (Water-mirror). Its walls are of loose, roughly piled stone and slant outward from the base at an angle of about 15° from the perpendicular. The rim of the well is 8 feet in diameter and the depth 3 feet, of which 1 foot is under water. The bottom appears to be partly filled with loose debris. About 50 feet east of the mound was found a quarry site where stone for the structure may have been obtained. At this place about a foot of surface soil had been removed, exposing coral "sandstone" which has been cut through in a way to suggest the removal of rectangular slabs.

4. Unnamed mound, Ualeva Island, Type II.

This mound consists of a circular pile of earth with a horizontally flat top. It is 3 to 4 feet high and has a base diameter of 82 feet and a top diameter of 72 feet. The earthen floor of the basin is horizontally flat. Its sides are supported by dressed rectangular slabs of stone practically all the same size, about 3 feet long, 0.6 foot thick, and 2 feet out of the ground. Several large funnel-shaped excavations near the mound probably indicate the source of material for the construction.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 764 6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.

7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hoouma, island of Eua.

172 764 173 According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hoouma are the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place. Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffocation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

172 361 The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about 5½ miles southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan government. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

172 124 Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was 172 one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the consider- [127] able mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal [126] observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing remains of ancient structures.

172 175 361 [643] Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting description of Lapaha:

[342] [351] The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person [363] has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between [351] each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

A CONTRIBUTION TO TONGAN SOMATOLOGY

By LOUIS R. SULLIVAN

Based on the field studies of E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern

INTRODUCTION

THE somatological studies in Tonga followed the plan previously used for Samoa.[1] The field records were made by E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern, assisted by Delila S. Gifford and show evidence of unusual care and discrimination; the mathematical computations were prepared by my wife, Bessie P. Sullivan. By arrangement between the American Museum of Natural History and the Bishop Museum the analysis of the data and the preparation of the results for publication constitute my share of the work.

Mr. Gifford and Mr. McKern call attention to the assistance rendered by many individuals in Tonga and especially to the kindness shown by Their Majesties Queen Charlotte Tupou and Prince Consort William Tungi, who permitted themselves to be measured, thus graciously setting an example that was gladly followed by their loyal subjects. The Privy Council also greatly aided the expedition by instructing the Minister of Police, Mr. Job Koho, to provide the required number of persons for each day's examinations.

The material on which this paper is based consists of complete descriptions and measurements of 225 persons, 121 men and 104 women. Of these 10 were of mixed racial descent and their records were therefore discarded. Of the remaining 215, 184 were adults more than twenty years of age and 31 adolescents. The averages of non-quantitative descriptions are based on observations of young and old from the age of sixteen upward; the averages of all measurements except stature are based on measurements of persons of both sexes eighteen years old and upward.

By nativity the individuals examined are distributed as follows: Niuatoputapu 4; Niuafoou 1; Vavau group 25; Haapai group 40 (in detail, Haano 8, Nomuka 2, Uiha 4, Lifuka 6, other places 20); Tongatabu 148 (Nukualofa 47, other places 101); Eua 5; elsewhere 2. The material was not consciously selected and represents persons of all social classes and occupations. It may be regarded as a fair qualitative sample of the Tongan people.

[1] Sullivan, L. A., A contribution to Samoan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. viii, No. 2. 1921. [113]

[p. 133]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

1775 1775 Yet there were times, when ideas were thrown out, by the natives, respecting the immortality of the soul, which much surprised and abashed me. One day, I recollect, they were conversing about a person that was lately dead: they said to each other, "he goes to the island through the sky," an expression by which they denoted a place very far off, as beyond the horizon, where the sky appeared to touch the earth. [124] Wishing to know their sentiments upon this subject, I pretended ignorance and disbelief. "How can he be, said I, in that place, when he is dead, and his body is here? Did you not bury him some *moons* ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one endeavouring to make me understand what he meant, took hold of my hand, and squeezing it, said, "Goomaogge hen, mooe hekai maogge." This will die, but the life that is within you will never die," with his other hand pointing to my heart.

This sentiment expressed on such an occasion so unexpectedly, with such animation and by a young man with whom I was particularly intimate, deeply impressed me. No circumstance more affected my mind during the whole of my continuance in the South-Sea Islands. Such a conviction of the immortality of the soul, expressed by a simple untutored heathen, defies, thought I, all the arguments of presumptuous philosophers, and infidel libertines.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

I was fully satisfied that they believed the soul to be immortal. I endeavoured then to obtain more information, by appearing ignorant, and desirous of knowledge on the subject. But I could get nothing further from them. Whatever notions they might have, I conceived the poverty of their language prevented their explaining them upon points so abstract.

And so immersed was I, at this time, in habits of irreligion, that I felt an aversion of heart, to give them proper instruction; nay, I wished to forget it myself; so much does guilt tie up the tongue, and harden the heart against attempting to do any spiritual good, when opportunities offer; and powerfully impel us to depart still farther from God, in order to gain a refuge from uneasy reflections.

Afterwards however in conversation with some of the chiefs I discovered that they had more precise ideas on a subject of which the commonalty had only confused and indistinct notions. They supposed that their souls immediately after the death of the body, were swiftly conveyed away to a far distant island, called Doobludha, where every kind of food was spontaneously produced, and the blessed inhabitants enjoyed perpetual peace and pleasure, under the protection and favour of the god Fliggolayo[1], who had supreme power over all other Deities, and warded off from his subjects the attempts of all that would molest or injury them. In-

1 [Errata: this should read Higgolayo. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

This pattern of division is not a hard and fast one in all its aspects. For some of the activities the division is fixed. Thus one would certainly not expect any Pangai woman to function as an undertaker or as a church-pastor. It would also be rare for a woman to work on the building of a house frame or assist in the making of a canoe. Similarly no man would attempt to plait mats or make bark cloth. He would make *kava* only if it was impossible to find an available girl or woman when he and his friends were craving for *kava* to drink. The pattern is most flexible in regard to agriculture and cooking. Women are primarily the cooks in Pangai. But men spending all day in their plantations will often pause to make an oven and bake food for themselves, particularly if other men are present and helping them. On feast-occasions also, men and women work together with food preparation. Similarly, cultivation is mainly left to the men. Women help whenever their help is needed. Sometimes they may even do all the cultivation for the household should it be necessary. Thus Fakataha's husband was suffering from a long bout of filarial fever which kept him in his house. His children were all young. Fakataha spent day after day in the plantation doing all the rough work of clearing land, planting, and hoeing. She was sometimes assisted by her two eldest sons. Villagers admired the way she worked although they thought her unfortunate. On the other hand, Biukala, somewhat sophisticated with European ideals, was proud of the fact that his wife occupied herself entirely with domestic work and rarely left the house-lot. He felt that many village women showed interest in men's activities merely as an excuse for gadding about the bush or the village when they would be much better and more safely employed with domestic tasks.

Daily Routine

For fourteen days during the month of January, nineteen Pangai men and two Pangai women kept a daily record of their chief activities. From this consecutive record it is possible to get a rough idea of how the villager fills his day with work and play (or better, with work and non-working activities—the concept of play is not one that the villager could easily master).

461 464 476 the round of gardens until all the immediate work is finished. Food for the day is provided by the partner on whose land the work is being carried out. He generally prepares an oven to feed his companions.

571 This method of working is common village practice. In 461 464 476 571 124 [183] discussing it an informant threw certain human sidelights on work-habits which show how this type of partnership may sometimes function. This informant said he never worked in partnership with anyone. He believes he gets more done by himself—it is obvious that he is not a true Tongan in this respect. The working partnership, he thinks, is merely a temptation to talk, rest, eat, and sleep rather than work. Some men are cunning in this respect. When the partners are working on A's field, A scorns all talk and insists on hard work for all three men. When in B's garden however, A thinks of the most wonderfully amusing stories to tell his companions and so little work is done by the end of the day. Informant mentioned the names of three men whom we had already observed to be a working partnership. Of the three, [157] only C was a hard worker. The other two were sophisticated and cunning with the result that hard-working C was doing in reality all the work for all three men. C apparently did not realize the situation. The three men were the best of friends and for many days on end were to be observed going to their plantations in the morning, returning together in the evening laughing and joking. It is obvious therefore that as long as the utmost amount of work is not the end of activity, the working-partnership can function to the satisfaction of its members and get enough work done to make such organization worth while.

461 476 464 241 571 [43] The other type of men's working-party, the *tou tu'u*, functions when it is a matter of breaking-in virgin bush-land. The owner of the land gets together a group of from ten to twenty men. He assigns to each man a small section of the bush-land. Each man clears his own section and generally plants it with yams. From the first harvest each man gives the owner of the land a present of from two to five yams and keeps the remainder for himself. Taro, *kape*, or sweet potato, may be planted instead of yams. After this [425] first year of cultivation the owner resumes full control of his cleared land and plants it exclusively for himself. Through

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

252 coconut-cream, but even this dish is not particularly common.
262 Sea weeds are eaten, however, whenever they can be obtained.

271 Water and coconuts are the usual drink. Concoctions
272 of sugar and lemons or limes are favourites with young and old alike. They are enjoyed whenever there is sugar available.

262 For his day-to-day staple foods the villager uses what he can grow in his gardens. To the old Tongan foods he has added such extras as corn, melons, and other fruits. For his relishes he relies on reef-foods, occasional pork and chicken, and canned foods whenever he can spare the money to make his daily meal more interesting.

FOOD-CONSUMPTION

262 The manner in which food is consumed during an
592 average week of our stay in Pangai is shown by the following table. This week covers the seven days between January 23rd and January 29th and refers to the food-consumption of four separate households.

TABLE 6.—FOOD-CONSUMPTION

Household	Composition Adults	Children	Vegetable Staples Lbs. per pers. for seven days	Papaia	Coconut	Extras Meat	Fish	Chicken
A	3	2	59	49	48	8 lbs	10 lbs.	—
B	3	2	55	—	21	—	18 lbs.	1
C	5	8	57	44	52	—	reef food	—
D	5	5	56	25	64	—	reef food	—

[124] Various comments on this table are in order. It will be noted firstly that the four household heads, each keeping his record for the same period, independently of the others, express common agreement on the amount of staple vegetables consumed by the Tongan villager. It was not possible to determine the relative amounts eaten by children and adults. The staple vegetables include *taro, manioke, kape* (giant *taro*), plantains, green bananas. In addition, very small amounts (included in the above totals) of breadfruit, yam and sweet potato were eaten by three of these four families during this week. One family only of the four and on one day only, ate "greens" in the form of *taro* leaves oven-baked with coconut-cream. All the coconuts listed in

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

of the second group anything from 10s to £1 per year. 434
Owing to various factors governing the export of Tongan 439
bananas, not only from Tonga as a whole, but also from Vava'u in particular, these "most favourable circumstances" are more often conspicuously absent than inconspicuously present.

Two trading-stations are maintained in Pangai. They 439
are owned by two of the trading-stores in Neiafu. The 443
storekeeper of each station lives in Pangai. He draws a 434
small monthly wage and is responsible for cash-sales at the station as well as the buying of green copra at prices set by the Neiafu principals, and the drying of this green copra on the station drying platforms. In 1938, according to figures [433]
supplied by the Neiafu owners of these two village-stations, about 115 tons of copra were produced by Pangai village. [435]
This was valued according to prices then ruling at about £430. The total village-income from copra production for that year was therefore about this sum. Again, according to figures given by the trading-stores, the cash sales for the year 1938 made by these two Pangai stations totalled just over £306.[15] This last figure does not, of course, cover the total store expenditure of the Pangai people. Some few of [674]
them occasionally go to Neiafu to visit friends or relatives. They then take the opportunity to spend what cash they have available in the larger stores where they can gaze upon shelves and shelves full of merchandise and groceries to their hearts' content and for the consideration of some minor purchase.

The two village-stations give credits according to the 443
discretion of their managers. That this involves risks and 452
necessitates good judgment is suggested by the fact that 437
during the auction of the stocks and assets of one large store in Neiafu that had closed down, more than £1,000 worth of book debts were sold for £5. The opening bid was

[15] From the viewpoint of personality study we would still be interested to know why the Tongan manager of one of these village-stations produced at our request, and after the most herculean labours, an itemized account of store sales which purported to show that his store did a cash-business of well over £1,000 for the year 1938 when the books of the European owner of the business showed cash sales of £146! Very likely our good Tongan friend was dreaming of the day when he was going to be the owner of the largest store in Neiafu. [124]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

adoption is relatively rare in the village.[18] This may be due to two factors. First, married but barren women are rare in Pangai. Of all the married women in the village, informants knew of but two who were definitely barren and could have no children of their own. These were the two women who had permanently adopted children. All the other married women had or had had, children of their own. There is therefore little incentive to permanent adoption. This incentive is lessened by the second factor: there are no strong lineage-feelings among the villagers, nor any strong lineage-groupings. None of them had any association with, nor any interest in, the classic lineages of Tonga as listed, for instance, by Gifford.[19] We soon gave up asking informants for lineage-membership when it became evident that they had knowledge of none or merely said they belonged to the lineage of their father, that is, adding their father's name to the generic term for lineage *(ha'a)*. For some Polynesian groups the continuation in the next generation of a lineage- or descent-group is a matter which is carefully planned and bolstered with both blood and adopted children. The Tongan villager seems almost indifferent to this matter. He may be interested in the survival of his own personality through the continued existence of his own blood-children after his death. This is also a not uncommon feeling among white people. But as for the continued existence of a family-line which has value in and for itself, the villager fails to make any motion of response. The situation would be different, of course, for the Tongan noble, who is proud of his membership in one of the great named Tongan descent-groups.

[18] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 26) writes that "adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga." He adds that it "may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality." Our data from Pangai obviously suggest that these generalizations of Gifford's do not hold for all Tongan culture.

[19] The statement of Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 30) that "some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live," hardly applies to the Pangai commoners, none of whom knew their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by consideration of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one night with a group of men about the use of omens and other minor magical practises common in our own society. Then we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs. All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him. The important thing about this statement is not that the villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' belief in Christianity in detail.[80] Much of it stands in the records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life of the village.

Table 14A shows that Pangai has a large Roman Catholic membership as compared with kingdom membership. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant. Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly valid explanation for this difference. The first three Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

[80] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture. Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious symbolism and ideology.

A. [See category 116, p. 126--Analyst]

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua. 773

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his worship. Something more will be said later about the individual gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them. Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest. In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an informant able to supplement his previous information. There are also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the gaps in the tradition. 304 [178] [177] 304 771 825 304 531 555 776 778 825 [793]

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness, and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters. 124

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

New Zealand Geographer

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MODERN TONGA[1]

C. G. F. SIMKIN

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA is a small and unimportant corner of the Pacific. It has barely enough people for a medium sized town, not nearly enough land for an average New Zealand county, and no physical resources apart from a soil and climate favourable to sub-tropical agriculture. Commercially it is of slight consequence, even to its immediate neighbours; politically it relies upon Britain for its actual independence.

But if Tonga is negligible as a nation, its social arrangements deserve notice as being both interesting in themselves and suggestive for colonial reform: for the Tongans are the only Pacific people to retain real self-government, and they have used it to develop a society which is both reasonably adjusted to the modern world and satisfactorily adapted to their own needs. This means that they have solved one of the basic problems confronting colonial policy. On the political side the solution has taken the form of an independent Kingdom, protected by a Great Power, but effectively controlled by its own traditional leaders, who have already made it into a modern state, and are now developing it into a constitutional democracy. On the economic side it rests upon a land system which excludes plantations and proletariat and gives every man a farm of his own. This simple but admirable institution prevents unemployment, promotes economic equality and independence, cushions the country against slumps, and together with

[1]This statement is the outcome of a few months' military service in Tonga during which spare time was spent collecting information about its people and institutions, mainly from official papers, from interviews with heads of departments, and from discussions with Tongan and European residents. Acknowledgement is gratefully made of the debt due to all who gave so freely of their own ample knowledge of the Kingdom, more particularly to the patient and very helpful assistance of Mr. Nicholson, the Treasurer, Mr. Brownlees, the Secretary to the Government, Mr. Cottrell-Dormer, the Director of Agriculture, the Rev. Mr. Gribble, the Acting-Director of Education, Dr. Brown, the Chief Medical Officer, and the Rev. Mr. Page, Dean of the Tongan Missions.

[p. 99]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 quently have a place in succeeding pages; and therefore it may be well to present a short outline of his history. Short it must be here; but the life of this eminent man, full of romantic incident, and greatly chequered by scenes of barbaric warfare, will, one day, be a fine study for an able biographer. Its details will be essential to any complete history, that may hereafter be written, of the rise and progress of Christianity in the Tonguese dominions.

173 643 Attempts have frequently been made, by Romish Priests, to question and invalidate the hereditary and titular power of King George; but his pedigree may be traced back with certainty through a period of some two hundred years or more of Tonguese history. Well established facts link his name with that borne by a long line of lordly ancestors, some of whom wielded a regal authority, similar to his own, over the entire islands included in the Friendly group. In no nation in the world is the pride of noble birth more strong than in the Friendly Islands; and although without any written genealogies, they are very careful to maintain a correct traditional knowledge of the descent of their nobility. These traditional pedigrees may be all the more safely relied upon, because of the strict separation existing between the chieftain families and the *tuas* or common people.

173 175 643 [124] It would be an unprofitable thing to string together, on our pages, the genealogical credentials of King George. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that the writer has now before him a MS. compiled by a native well versed in such historical matters. It is closely written, and extends over seventy pages; and from it we gather the most indisputable evi-

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

of Tongatapu Island 16 miles from the capital, Nuku'alofa. This village was selected for field work because it is one of the most isolated villages in Tongatapu and because it is supposed to have retained the traditional way of Tongan life. The size of the village was also suitable for the study. Although I tried to speak the Tongan language as much as possible for my daily life, the information for the study was collected in English through an interpreter who was nineteen years old.

I The Village

The People

According to the Government census of 1956[5] the population of Nukuleka was 209 (107 males, 102 females). There were 219 (109 males, 110 females) by my enumeration in December 1962. In spite of the rapid population growth of the Kingdom in recent years, the increase of population of this village has been slight. Among these 219 persons, there are 15 temporary residents made up of two families whose heads serve as the stewards for the two different churches in this village. These 15 residents being excluded, 204 is the village population. Of these 37 were born outside the village (male 10, female 25 and children 2). Eight married men have come from elsewhere and two younger single men live at the home of relatives. The 25 women are married to the villagers. The two children were brought here on their mother's second marriage. Against the 37 who moved in, there are 36 who moved out of this village (male 13, female 23). This figure is the number of persons who are brothers and sisters of the present villagers and were born in Nukuleka but now live elsewhere. It is difficult to count the moved-out otherwise. Most of them, especially women, married out, and a few left the village because they received land in another place or because they were adopted by the relatives.

All the inhabitants are Tongan. There are 49 adult men over sixteen years of age who are old enough to be entitled to receive *api tukuhau*, tax allotment, and *api kolo*, town allotment, and at the same time are obliged to pay poll tax according to the Tongan law. The village had been the noble estate held by S. Pangia, but the Government took over direct control in the 1920s.[6] Simultaneously, the Government confiscated extra land from the men who had had larger *api tukuhau* and redistributed them to more villagers. Today, however, only 28 villagers have *api tukuhau* of about 8¼ acres each. A further 21 who are entitled to it have not yet received it. The latter borrow the land to cutivate from their relatives or friends. Therefore, all men, without exception, are working the land.

Besides agriculture, the villagers are engaged in fishing. The village location being favourable to fishing, a number of men go out to sea nearly every day. Most of the fish are consumed within the village, but a few

5. Report on the Result of the 1956 Census by Authority, 1958.
6. In the map after Gifford (1929) Nukuleka was a noble estate held by Pangia. A villager told me that the Government had examined the documents of the village in the law court and had taken it lawfully from him, although I could not find the record in the office.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

None of these informants were paid, nor were they directly rewarded with gifts. However, my main informants and others in Motulahi who were of greatest assistance were members of the kin-groups in which I participated as a quasi-member. I understood their assisting me to be part of a wider context of reciprocities, one aspect of the anga faka-Tonga that I had come to Motulahi to study. 124 [125]

I wish to thank the Government of Tonga under His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV for permitting me to conduct fieldwork. My fieldwork was supported by an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women, and this support is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank many people in Motulahi and others in Tonga for helping me in carrying out my research, and to express special thanks to certain individuals for their graciousness and kindness towards me. However, I shall only name those who are identifiable in some public capacity. Much as I would like to name others in acknowledgement of my regard for them, I feel it incumbent upon me to protect their privacy. While I have given a fictitious name to the village in which I was based and have disguised the title of the noble, it would be impossible to shield their identity any further without distorting data that I have judged it important to present. Instead, I have done what I can in reporting my findings 122 122 124

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

to preclude the identification of individuals, particularly where sensitive information is involved. 122 [124]

The directors and staff of a number of Government departments and agencies rendered invaluable assistance. The Department of Education was especially helpful at all times, and it is a pleasure to be able to express my gratitude for the support facilitated me by the Honourable Minister of Education, Dr. Langi Kavaliku, and the Director of Education, Sione Na'a Fiefia. Considerations of space preclude my naming all the members of their staff and the staff of other agencies who went out of their way to help me, but I cannot omit mention of Kilisimasi 'Aho, 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, and 'Atolo Tu'inukuafe, and their names will stand for all. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Honourable Ve'ehala and Tupou Posesi Fonua of the Tonga Traditions Committee for their encouragement of anthropological research in Tonga. And thanks are due the staff and students of Tonga High School and Tupou High School for facilitating my research among them. Others in Tonga whom I would like to thank and whose names I feel I can safely mention include Jack and Kato Riechelmann; Tevita Tupou, who met my plane upon arrival and welcomed me to Tonga; 'Iunisi Fiefia, who accompanied me to the airport at my departure; and two dear friends and colleagues, Garth Rogers and Tavi Pālangi Kauffmann.

612 it had earlier split off from another fāmili (see Figure 7). And besides these cases, there are other fāmili in Motulahi that are connected to one another by sibling bonds between their originating ancestors. The most extensive such case is depicted in Figure 8.

As both Figure 8 and the two preceeding figures indicate, the process of fission may result in the emer-
612 gence of new fāmili in each generation. Thus, in order
124 to understand fāmili structure among the people living in any one area, there is little point in simply asking informants how many fāmili there are in the village or who belongs to which fāmili or even who is the head of each fāmili, as if there were unequivocal answers to these questions, for the fāmili is a dynamic and changeable entity and Tongans are aware of this. At most, one could ask the informant which fāmili he belongs to. However, even this might be undergoing change, as we shall see below.

612 It must be understood that membership in what anthropologists might speak of as a 'localized sibling descent group' and membership in a fāmili are not the same thing. Expressed in structural terms, there can be considerable overlap among persons affiliated with localized non-unilinear descent groups, whereas fāmili tend not to overlap in their active membership. Thus, an individual could be closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling

612 (The extent of the old and new fāmili's involvement in
423 ceremonial activities might be a factor in deciding this, although access to land is probably the most common factor.)
612 Thus, the researcher is confronted with confusing data,
124 with nameless unbounded groups and floating memberships. To study fāmili structure, on the one hand, and the range and kinds of local obligations that any one person might involved in, on the other, the investigator must watch who visits whom, and go about at feasts counting pigs and yams, and ask who brought the pigs and who is helping to cook
612 the yams. The data are further complicated by the fact
476 that a person is not obliged to make contributions only to his own fāmili. The fact that a person is helping out or has made a contribution of food at the feast of someone who is not a member of his own fāmili does not necessarily signify that that person is in process of switching fāmili affiliation. He may be doing it because he is a friend of the feast-giver or a closely related kinsman or there may be some other reason relating to special circumstances of their relationship. Perhaps the helper wishes to put the feast-giver under obligation to himself, or owes him a
[124] favor. No single occasion, therefore, will tell the entire story; instead, the anthropologist (or the interested local observer) must keep track of such behavior over the course of a number of episodes and some period of time.

48: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1974
OU9 Tonga OU9

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[764]
[611]
[124]

DOMESTIC KIN GROUPS

Within the domestic sphere, Tongans distinguish three kinds of kin-based groups.[31] There is the household group, the *'api*, which is defined in terms of common residence and consumption and includes also the sharing of land that is held locally by members of the *'api*. Members mainly and usually, but not necessarily, are all close kin to one another. Most households are based on an elementary family or on a three-generation extended family group, numbering 2 to 32 individuals with an average of 7 persons per household.[32] In many cases a household includes attached individuals—related lineally, cognatically or affinally—who have moved in for a few days, a few weeks, or even a few years.

The second kind of grouping is the *kainga*, which is an ego-based personal kindred that does not include affines. From time to time, groups based on *kainga* relationships are activated. The most typical of such occasions are funerals, when members of the *kainga* of close relatives of the deceased come to pay their respects. They come because of their relationship not to the deceased but to the bereaved. A *kainga*, then, is an unrestricted grouping with an ego reference, based on consanguineal kinship.

Finally, there is the *famili*, which cuts across the *kainga*.[33] *Kainga* is mainly a relationship category while *famili* is an action group that provides goods labour, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. While *kainga* ties transcend local boundaries, the *famili* is a village-based group and, like the household, it is a local group that includes affines. Membership in the *kainga* is simply a matter of kinship relationships; membership in the famili is defined by participation in the activities of the *famili*.

The constitution of the *famili* is even more troublesome to delineate than that of the *ha'a*. Like the *ha'a*, it has features that make it look like both a non-unilinear descent group—that is, a sept—and a stem kindred; but it could also be described as a loose association of households linked by consanguineal ties. The core or stem of the membership of any one *famili* consists of a number of adult individuals in the village who are related to one another as siblings or as descendants of siblings, both male and female. The total membership of a *famili* includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than merely transient members of their households. Membership, however, is completely optative; a person can be affiliated with a *famili* so long as he or she is able to claim a kinship connection with the famili and have that claim accepted by the *famili*'s membership, even if the geneological connection is more remote than usual.

31. Beaglehole 1941; Aoyagi 1966; Morton 1972.
32. Fiefia 1968. These figures on household size are from the 1966 Tonga Government census. In 1970, in a village census of 145 households, I found household size numbered up to 26 individuals, with an average of 8 persons per household.
33. Aoyagi devotes considerable attention to a description of the functions and organisation of the *famili*. She uses the terms "*famili*" and "*famili* organisation" to refer to what I have identified as the *kainga* and the *famili*.

and it is this point that helps to distinguish the *famili* from the sept, or sibling descent grouping. This does not mean that a person will *say* that he is a member of one *famili* and not a member of another, but he and his household will tend to participate in the activities of one *famili* rather than another and thereby put emphasis on their connection with that *famili*, leaving their connection with the other/s dormant.[34] This occurs, obviously enough, when there has been a shift of residence from one village to another but it is both less obvious and more striking (to the anthropologist) when a household shifts its affiliation within the same village. Thus, in order to understand the *famili* system and the range and kinds of kin-based obligations that a person is involved in in the domestic sphere, there is little point in asking informants how many *famili* there are in the village, or who is the head of their *famili*, or even which *famili* they belong to. To study *famili* organisation one must go about at feasts counting heads and pigs and yams and ask who brought the pigs and who is cooking the yams, for not only is *famili* membership not fixed from the individual's point of view, but *famili*s themselves are changing entities.

COMPARISON OF HA'A AND FAMILI

The structure of the *famili* system is most different from that of the *ha'a* in the formation of new *famili*, especially when they are formed by the segmentation of an existing group within the village. A *famili* will begin to split up when the group as a whole becomes too large, or if one segment becomes markedly wealthier than another, or if for some other reason the burden of obligation becomes too heavy or unevenly distributed. Gradually, over a period of two or three or even more years, the descent group will become segmented through emphasis on ties within one section at the expense of ties to the rest. By the time the process is completed, there are separate *famili* for purposes of the formal and informal obligations of *famili* membership, although the members of the original *famili* will continue to act as *kainga* to one another on occasions such as weddings and funerals. In contrast to this, in the *ha'a* system, the unity of the *ha'a* is maintained despite segmentation and the creation of new titles and descent lines, for there is necessarily a continued emphasis on tracing the connection to the originating ancestors who provide the link with the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.

Despite the basic structural difference that has just been described between *ha'a* and *famili*, it should be evident that there are a number of important points of similarity between them. Possibly the most striking of these is the optative and variable nature of membership. A person will be a member of the group within which and through which he can best secure his own advantage and, if necessary, he will switch membership to do so. Such a situation might arise if a member of a *ha'a* became eligible for a title in a different *ha'a*, or if a member of a *famili* required the long-

34. Such manipulations of membership are clearly a strategy adaptive to flux. This type of organisation, therefore, is more likely to be prevalent in villages affected by migration and urbanisation and less likely to be found in rural communities outside Tongatapu.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

sails a shore to repair and a party cuting wood for fuel and Plank for the use of the Ship. The gunners of both Ships were ordered a shore to traffick with the natives, who thronged from all parts with Hogs, yams, & cocoanuts &c[a] so that our little post was like a fair and the Ships so thronged that we had hardly room to stir on the decks.

Feenough had taken up his residence near us, but he was no longer the acting man, we however found him to be a man of consequence and property and still continued to make us presents of Hogs &c[a]. As to the King scarce a day pa[s]t that had not some thing considerable from him. We heard of other great men which we had not yet seen particularly one *Mariwaggy*,[1] who we understood was Fattafee Polaho's Father and the first man on the island, but that he was an old man and would not visit us; some even hinted, that he was too great a man to be seen by us, at least so Omai interpreted it.[2] The account they gave of this Chief made me very desirious of seeing him and I at last prevailed on Fattafee the King to accompany me the next Morning to the place of his residence. Accordingly we set out pretty early, accompaned by Captain Clerke in his own boat, Omai and some of the officers. We proceeded round and to the Eastward of the isles that forms the harbour and then entered a large inlet up which we rowed about one league and then landed near to the residence of this great man.[3] We had no sooner landed then we were told that he was gone to the Ships. I susspected this was not true, but that he was gone out of the way in order not to be seen by us,as some had suggested. Pequed at being thus disapointed, after a short stay I returned on board, when we found Mariwaggy had not been nor was he expected. It however afterwards appeared that Omai

Thur. 12

[1] Maealiuaki.

[2] Maealiuaki was certainly Paulaho's 'classificatory father': the term *tamai*, father, would include all paternal male affines. He was indeed a very great man, and in a secular sense certainly the 'first man on the island', and indeed in all Tonga; for having been Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua (the fourteenth and last of the succession), hence deriving great prestige and privilege, he became Tu'i Kanokupolu (the eighth of that line)—and it was the Tu'i Kanokupolu who was the effective principal ruler of the group. Cf. II, p. lxxv. A venerable figure, 'grey with age', as Cook notes below, he was to die later in this year 1777.

[3] The place of this landing is traditionally remembered. Cook had to take the same circuitous route anyone must take nowadays from the Nuku'alofa jetty—round the islands and into the lagoon through an extraordinary mass of coral reefs. The lagoon forms two arms. Just off the present road, which runs close to the lagoon, a little south-west of the large village of Mu'a, is a very little cove, part of a larger wide cove at the bottom of the eastern arm of Mu'a inlet; and here, it is said, Cook stepped ashore. He could hardly do so now. Mangroves have crept all round and the shore is very muddy; trees hang over the water and the coral of the bank has fallen away in large pieces; a few yards from the water a huge banyan (*Ficus obliqua*) marks the scene. The place is called Alaki, though the village of Alaki has been moved a mile or so to the south. It is possible, however, that tradition is mistaken in being quite so precise, because the text (p. 138 below) refers to the village as 'Moa' or Mu'a; ancient Mu'a, however, was very near, and it is even possible that Alaki village did not then exist.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

which on most occasions was our interpreter had either been misinformed or what was more likely had missunderstood them for in this affair we had been labouring under some gross misstakes, this Marriwaggy, tho a great man yet was by no means superior to Fattafee Polaho. I was now very sorry I did not make a longer stay at the place we went to; it was a Villige most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the great men in the island resided, each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses and offices for servants &c[a]. These plantations were all neatly finced round, with for the most part only one entrance which was by a door that was generally fastened on the inside by a shore or prop of wood, so that a person has to knock before he can get admittance. Publick roads and narrow lanes lay between every plantation, so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these plantations were laid out in grass plats, and planted with such things as seemed more for Ornament than use; but hardly any were without the Cava plant on which they make their favourate drink, and some were planted with every thing the island produceth, but I observed these were not the residence of people of the first rank. There were some large house[s] near the publick roads uninclosed with large smooth grass plats before them; these I was told belonged to the King, they seemed to be common to every one and were probably the places where they have their publick assembl[i]es. On our first landing we were conducted to one of these houses where we seated our selves according to the Custom of the Country and in a short time had a very numerous assembly who very orderly seated themselves in a simicircle before us, not one attempting to come near us unless desired.

FRIDAY 13*th*. About Noon the next day this Mariwaggy we had heard so much of actually came, and with him a very considerable number of people of all ranks. In the after noon a party of us accompaned by Feenough went to pay him a visit; we found him amongst a great number of peop[l]e of both sex Seated round a large piece of Cloth, not less than 40 yards in length, spread out on the ground. At the upper end sat an elderly Chief named Toobough, which for distinction sake I shall call old Toobough,[1] him, from the place he was seated, we took to be Marriwaggy till undeceived by Feenough, who interduced us to him seated on one side; he received us very kindly and desired us to sit down by him; he and also Toobough had a very venerable appearence, both being grey with age. The meeting with

[1] i.e. a different Tupou again, and a more important one: see p. 189, n. 1 below.

time we all faced about and formed a large semicircle before the Prince, leaving a large open place between us. Presently there appeared some men coming to wards us, two and two bearing large sticks or poles on their Shoulders making a noise like singing and waving their hands as they came. As soon as they got close up to us they made shew of walking very fast without advancing a single step; presently three or four men started up from the crowd with large sticks in their hands and ran to those new comers who instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and ran off, and the others fell on these poles and beat them most unmercifully and then returned to their places. As the men ran off they gave the challenge usual in wristling, and not long after a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, giving the Challenge as they advanced, these were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at the same instant; these two parties paraded the Area for a few minutes and then retired each to his own side. After this there was wrestling and boxing Matches for about half an hour, then two men seated themselves before the Prince and made a speach address'd I thought wholy to him, with this the ceremony ended and the whole assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several Baskets which had been brought in, a thing I was not allowed to do before because every thing was then *Tabu*, but the ceremony being over they became simply what they realy were, viz. empty baskets, so that whatever they were supposed to Contain was emblematically represented, and so indeed was every other thing they brought in except the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning not only of the whole but the different parts of this ceremony, we seldom got any other answers to our enquir[i]es than *Tabu*, a word which as I have before observed is applied to many other things. But as the Prince was the principal person concerned in it, and we had been told by the King ten days before it happened, that the people would bring in yams for them two to eat and even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded from this and what we saw, that it was an Oath of Alligiancy or solemn promise which they made the Prince as the immediate successor to the Regale Dignity, to stand by him and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. But be this as it will the whole was conducted with a great deal of Ceremonious solemnity, and that it was mixed with a great deal of Religion is evident not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and deportment had never been called in question on any account what-

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

101 Anamocka. I have no doubt but Prince Williams islands, descovered by Captain Tasman are included in this number for while we lay at *Happi* one of the Natives told me that three or four days sail from thence to the NW lay a group of small islands consisting of upwards of forty; this correspon[d]s very well with the Situation of Prince Williams isles.[1] And we have very good authority to beleive that 124 *Keppel* and *Boscawen* islands seen by Captain Wallis[2] are well known to 171 these people, for on my enquireing of Fattafee the King how they came by the Knowledge of iron and a small iron tool I saw here last Voyage, he told me it came from *Onnuahtabutabu*,[3] and on asking him how the people of that island came by it, he said one of them sold a Club for five Nails to a Ship which came to the island, and that these five Nails after wards came to Tongatabu and were the fi[r]st they had seen, so that the Iron they got from Captain Tasman must have been worn out and forgot long ago.[4] I was very particular in enquiring into the situation, size and form of this island, how long sence the Ship was there, how long she stayed and if there was any more than one Ship. He said there was but one and she did not anchor but left it after her boat had been a shore, and from several circumstance[s] which he mentioned it could not be many years 101 sence. He said there were two island[s] near each other which he himself had been at, the one was high and peaked like Oghao and 124 was called *Cootahe*[5] but the other the Ships people landed upon called 171 *Onuahtabutabu* was much lower: that they were the same sort of people with themselves, built the same kind of Canoes, and had Hogs and Fowls and in general every thing Tongatabu produceth. The Ship here refered to could be no other than the Dolphin, being the only single ship that had touched at any island in this neighbourhood 101 for many years. But the islands they speake of as being the most considerable are *Hammoah*, *Vaughwaugh* and *Fidges*,[6] each larger than *Tongatabu*. None of these islands have been seen by any European that

[1] Tasman's Prins Willems islands were the north-eastern islands of the Fiji group. It was on 5 February 1643 that, after leaving Tonga behind him, he encountered the chain of reefs and islets south of Niggele Levu, a low coral island, one of the Ringgold Isles, some 45 miles off the main island of Vanua Levu. Cook's informants certainly had no right to claim Fiji in general as part of Tonga; but it is not likely that they did so. The Tongans were probably referring to the Lau group, the nearest island of which, Ongea, was only 220 miles away.

[2] Keppel was Niuatoputapu, lat. 15°57′ s, long. 173°46′ w; Boscawen was Tafahi, four miles to the north-west. Wallis sighted them in 1767; and his men landed on Niuatoputapu. [131]

[3] [O]Niuatoputapu.

[4] This seems to dispose finally of the theory of a Tasman origin, nourished by Forster and not entirely parted from in II, p. 266, n. 1.

[5] This must be Tafahi, unlikely as the form seems. Cook probably heard it imperfectly, as Ko Ta[fa]hi: Tongans will glide over a middle syllable. It is 2000 feet high, just over half the height of Kao. Niuatoputapu rises to only 350 feet.

[6] Samoa, Vava'u, Fiji.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

128 the other.[1] To have swell'd the Journal with a minute accou[n]t of bearings tacking &c[a] would neither have been entertaining nor usefull.

121 What has been here Omitted concerning the Geography of these
114 islands will be found in the Narrative of my last Voyage; to that Narrative I must also refer for several particulars concerning the Inhabitants, their Manners and arts, as I shall now confine my self to such things as are intresting and not mentioned in that Narrative and such as may tend to explain some passages in the account of our transactions with them.

124 It may indeed be expected that after spending between two and three Months among these islands, I should be enable[d] to give a good account of the customs, opinions and arts of the inhabitants, especially as we had a person on board who understood thier language and he ours.[2] But unless the object or thing we wanted to enquire after was before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only without falling into a hundred mistakes; in this Omai was more liable than us because he never gave himself the trouble to gain knowledge for himself, so that when he was disposed to explain things to us his account was often very confused. It was also very rare we found a person both able and willing to giving us the information we wanted, for the most of them hate to be troubled with what they probably think idle questions.

129 Our situation at *Tongatabu* where we remained the longest, was likewise unfavourable; it was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers; it was always holyday with our visitors as well as with those we visited, so that we had but few oppertunities of seeing into their domistick way of living.

144 *Persons Manners and Customs* As to the people they differ very little from those of Otaheite either in their persons or desposition, if any thing these have the advantage in being better limbed and finer shaped, but than their complexion is much darker.[3]

142 The hair is of different colours that is black, dark brown and flaxen,
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[1] By the 'annexed Chart' Cook must, I presume, mean the original from which was engraved Pl. XII of the printed *Voyage*, I, on which Bligh makes the comment (AL, p. 225), 'This is a Copy of my Chart, which was an entire Survey of my own except the South side of Amsterdam & the Isl[d] Eooa which C. Cook laid down'. See, for a modern equivalent, Fig. 5 in the present volume.

[197] [2] We get a note on the language from Burney, f. 205. 'The Tongitabu language is more distinct and easier to be learnt than the Otaheite. it is less composed of vowels and does not afford so many instances of words nearly alike conveing different meanings. the G and K are soumds not used by the Otaheiteans and which they are not able to pronounce. in many words the gradual change of language may be traced from the Society Islands to the westward; as in Boa (a Hog) at Otaheite, Boakko at Tongitabu and Wacka at Horn Island.'

[3] Because of their position on the Polynesian-Melanesian borderline.

A [See category 102, p. 104--Analyst]

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

in a fine spacious Pleasant Bay, we were landed in a delightfull part of the Island, most numerously inhabited. We were conducted amidst many hundreds of our good Friends to a large House where we were desir'd to set down and wait till Mallawogga was prepar'd for our reception. After waiting till our patience was pretty well exhausted, we began to be inquisitive to know when his Majesty wou'd be enough at leisure to give us a few minutes Audience; some to whom we address'd ourselves told us his Majesty was taken very ill; others that he was retir'd to his religious Offices; others again told us he was gone to the Ships: this last we knew was a very improbable Assertion for had that been the Case, we must have seen something of him in our way hither, however it requird no great degree of divination to find out that his Majesty, be he where he wou'd, was not dispos'd to see company, at least us that Day, which being now pretty well convinc'd of, we walk'd again towards the Boats; in our way thither, Powlahow wou'd fain have introduc'd us to another Gentleman, who he said though not a King was a very great Man; but our visit today being professedly to his Majesty, and not feeling any great Exultation at the Turn affairs had taken, we did not find ourselves dispos'd to any farther introductions for the present, so got to our Boats and made the best of our way for the Ships again. The next day we were given to understand that Mallawogga was on shore a little distance from our Tents; in the afternoon I accompanied Cap[t] Cook to pay our respects; we found him setting under a Tree, surrounded by many of his great Men and a multitude of the rabble: he is a very old Man, I think clearly arriv'd to his second Childhood; however we were graciously receiv'd, pay'd our respects, made our presents and set down by him; after about 2 Hours conversation, but confusedly understood on both Sides (for we are as yet by no means perfect in their language and they know not the least of ours) we got up and took our leaves; the old Gentleman in return for his presents gave us some large Pieces of Cloth, and we parted very good Friends. The old Boy now took up his Quarters among us, as before had our old Acquaintance Powlahow and Feenow, with many Chiefs of less Distinction, so that we pass'd our time in all the luxury and festivity that this Country afforded; in the first place in respect to Diet, we far'd sumptuously every day, and in the next we were very frequently entertain'd with Musick both vocal and instrumental, Dancing, Wrestling, Fighting &c in the manner I have before related.

On the 18[th] We had our Marines on Shore, who went through the various Maneuvres of their Exercise before them and in the Evening we set off some Fireworks with which they were both delighted and astonish'd. We soon had reason to observe that they had aggrandized old Mallawogga to the degree they did only to forward some favourite Scheme of theirs; I conclude upon the same principal that Feenow before had beking'd himself; for it may be necessary here to observe, that upon all Introductions to Indian Chiefs, you make your way, with a present in your hand, and they of course conclude that this present is generally calculated

122 765 766 784 122 124 specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

122 535 541 The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one. I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately, during my first field trip and the first three months of my second field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the society.

123

121 Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering 126 of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but [122] are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts [128] are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

192 535 makes it repetitive or continuing. Hākahaka means, "to be jubliant, to express joy or exhilaration, esp. by movements of the hands and arms;" and the transitive form, haka'i means, "to sing or chant with approhand movements (haka)" (Churchward 1959, p. 207).

The closest Tongan equivalent of 'dance' then, is 'faiva with haka,' that is, 'performance with hand movements.' However, a Tongan would seldom use this to describe dance. Instead he would use the term for the genre of faiva he was talking about or, if he were going to dance practice he would simply say, "Teu 'alu 'o ako faiva," 'that he was going to study faiva,' and there would be no confusion as to what he meant. If it were listed in the newspaper that on a certain occasion there were going to be faiva, it would be immediately clear as to what could be included.

124 192 535 In eliciting taxonomic levels of contrast faiva always emerged as the most generalized term and thus the top vertical dimension in a dance hierarchy. For example, if watching a dance I would ask, "Koe fa'ahinga faiva ha ē?" (what kind of 'dance' is that?), I would immediately get the name of the category of faiva they were doing. Conversely if I would ask, "Koe lakalaka ko fa'ahinga faiva?" (Is the lakalaka a kind of faiva?), I would always get the answer "yes." On the other hand if I would ask in English, "Is the lakalaka a kind of dance?" I would sometimes get "yes" and sometimes "no." This confused me until I found that one category of faiva (tau'olunga) is often translated as 'Tongan dance' to distinguish it from the so-called

124 action songs such as lakalaka. In fact some of my informants when
192 speaking English denied that lakalaka is a kind of 'dance,' but they
535 affirmed that it is faiva. Thus, I could never say in English that I wanted to learn 'Tongan dance' because this meant to them that I was interested in tau'olunga.

192 It appears then, that the best term for the subject of this study
535 is faiva with haka. This delineates a block of human behavior or an activity system which the Tongans themselves distinguish and separate from other sorts of performances and also from ballroom dancing,
535 which, of course, does not use haka. The Tongan concept and the Western concept are not identical; the Western concept of dance usually focuses on the feet or legs. As a case in point, in a recent publicaltion called Ten Folk Dances in Labanotation (Venable and Berk 1959) folk dances of eight European countries were notated. It is characteristic that it was only necessary to notate foot and leg movements, while a short verbal explanation of what the arms were doing was sufficient. The Tongan concept of dance mainly revolves around what is done with the hands and we will see later how hands and feet (and other parts of the anatomy) are concerned with the Tongan system of classification.

535 It is interesting to note that although the Tongans have a mental
192 concept of a block of activity that is roughly similar to what we would call 'dance,' they have no term for it. Such a term would not communicate anything. When they talk about dance they use the term

121 The units derived at the third, motif, level are similar to motif components as used in folklore and the visual arts. Their method of derivation, however, is different. Whereas, in folklore, for example, a motif is "any one of the parts into which an item of folklore can be analyzed" (Thompson 1950, p. 753), in the method used here a motif is built up out of smaller movement units.

The final level of Tongan dance was based on ethno-semantic categories. These named categories, or genres, were found to be different combinations of structural elements from the lower three levels of dance organization and elements external to dance movement.

These four levels were found to account for all the relevant data in Tongan dance, but it must be emphasized that these levels of organization are specific to, and valid for, this system alone. Each dance tradition must be analyzed in terms of itself. It is conceivable that a dance tradition could have only two levels or five levels or more. The kinesmic and morphokinesmic levels, I suspect, are the most universal and can be derived for any movement system, but the higher levels of organization are more dependent on the external cultural system.

Though I have claimed that the movements presented are known to the Tongans themselves, I do not imply that I have presented what goes on inside the natives' heads. The information was not derived by asking hypothetical questions, and in many cases was not verbal at all. Movements were derived mainly in terms of motion, the

verbalised level being only if movements were the same, different, or variants, and how they could be designated.

I have not presented all Tongans' view of dance, or one Tongan's view of dance, or even an agreement of several Tongans' view of dance. Any of these three would be impossible in Tonga. Very few Tongans have seen all dance types and even fewer can perform all of them. Those who know the most about dance are the people who live in Lapaha where all six types of dance are performed--but not by all the people. This method can be criticized on the the grounds that I have used so-called 'well-informed informants,' and it is true that I have. But this was necessary, as only individuals who were sufficiently familiar with a genre were able to tell me what dimensions were emically relevant within it.

The method does not disregard ambiguity, but emphasizes that ambiguity exists. There is variation in all the kinemes, and the boundaries between some are arbitrary. This is complicated by the fact that, especially for arm positions, what contrasts in one dance genre might not contrast in another dance genre.

The units were derived by observing what dancers did, asking them what they did, forming hypotheses about what was significant, and testing the hypotheses by performing. The elements that were claimed by Tongans to be insignificant, however, were not disregarded, but an attempt was made to present them without violating the Tongans' concepts about their dance as far as these could be ascertained,

124 hence the 'non-emic' categories and the complications of the head movement existing in both emic and non-emic categories.

121 The method does not oppose 'etic' and 'emic' analysis, but shows that they complement each other. The existence of non-emic movements shows that the two forms of analysis must proceed side by side. For even though some aspects of dance are judged to be non-significant to the holders of the tradition, they are important for an objective description of the dance from an observer's point
121 of view and essential for any cross-cultural comparison. It is easy
535 for an observer to divide a ma'ulu'ulu into sections because the sections are differentiated by singing and not singing. But it is not easy to divide the ta'anga into sections because the divisions are not visually or audibly apparent--the sections instead being differentiated by internal divisions in the poetry that are culturally
121 defined. As Edward Sapir has noted, an outside observer, "will utterly fail to observe the crucial turning points in the course of action that give formal significance to the whole" (1949, p. 547).

Descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethnographer's point of view can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves. Only by using both points of view can we achieve any real understanding of dance as human behavior.

The analysis of Tongan dance presented here is methodological in that it develops a method for the analysis of dance structure. It

66: Walsh K-5 (1963-1964) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nuku'alofa

000 21. Ongoongo Mei Tonga, 1968.

124 22. Much of the work in this section is based on two questionnaires conducted between August, 1963, and January, 1964. A job questionnaire involved 53 migrants working at the six largest places of employment; a household questionnaire involved 107 households (a sample of 5.4%), the method of selection being based on area and housing types. This is termed a "composite" sampling method by Chapman, M., 1962, "Sampling Methods for Geographers", Pac. View., 4: 155-162.

[113]

113 23. McGee, T.G., 1964, "The Rural-Urban Continuum Debate", Pac. View., 5: 127.

24. For a discussion of the bazaar and tertiary sectors of Asian towns, see Armstrong, W.R. and McGee, T.G., 1968, Revolutionary Change and the Third World City: A Study of Urban Involution, Unpublished paper, Geog. Dept., V.U.W.

25. McGee, 1964, 166.

26. Franklin, 1965, 148.

27. Frank, G., 1966, "The Development of Underdevelopment", Monthly Review, 18: 17-31, New York.

28. Armstrong and McGee, 1968, 29.

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

attempts to relate the Tongan material to the general statements of Geertz (1963) and Boserup (1965) on the effect of population growth on man/land relationships.

Varying approaches and methods have been used in this research in an attempt to combine depth of understanding with breadth of coverage. Some aspects of the system of man/land relationships, for instance the uneven population distribution or the pattern of internal migration, can only be understood by analysis at both the national and local levels. Other aspects, such as the functioning of the land-tenure system or the effect of population density on agriculture, require studies of individual gardens, households and villages, and the comparison of areas experiencing differing conditions. Broadly, the material used can be divided into four main types:

(1) Material relating to the whole of Tonga. This includes the reports of the 1956 and 1966 Censuses, the records and maps of the Lands and Survey Department, and official statistics and departmental reports.

(2) Material from detailed surveys at the level of the household and village. This includes a general household questionnaire survey of four villages in Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga, more specialized surveys of land holding (one village in Ha'apai) and food cropping (two villages in Tongatapu and one in Ha'apai), and the results of three previous village studies of land tenure.

(3) Material from reconnaissance surveys, which involved interviews with key informants in a number of other villages throughout Tonga. The object was to determine the extent to which conditions in these villages were similar to, or differed from, conditions in the villages studied in greater detail.

(4) Historical material, obtained through interviews and archival research, and from previous studies in Tonga. Such material, although limited in amount, is valuable in providing a time-dimension to some of the variables involved in man/land relationships.

The bulk of the material is from the detailed surveys, which were made within the framework of the village community. No attempt was made to draw a general random sample of households over the whole of Tonga; instead a small number of villages was selected and either all or a sample of the households in each were studied. At the time field-work was undertaken no suitable frame existed for an overall random sample; but there were also methodological reasons for the choice of an approach through the village. In an unfamiliar

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

433 The above evidence points tentatively to mild symptoms of
182 economic stress in areas of high population density. Land appears to have become a limiting factor in production given the present level of agricultural technology, but at population densities which vary according to the crop; the population density at which *per capita* banana production begins to decline, for instance, is higher than that at which *per capita* copra production is affected, because bananas
[128] are a less land-extensive crop. Much more research, including studies of nutrition, is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

POPULATION PRESSURE: PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE

121 To what extent are the pressures described in the last two sections consciously felt by Tongans living in areas of high population
121 density? An attempt was made during field-work in western Tongatapu, Ha'apai and eastern Vava'u to ascertain the degree to
124 which people felt hardship as a result of the shortage of land, concentrating in particular on married men without allotments as
182 these were likely to suffer the most. We recall that even in densely-
511 settled areas most men without allotments found it fairly easy to borrow land for cash cropping or collecting coconuts for copra-making. Yet only a small proportion of the men interviewed seemed to feel any hardship, all of these being men with large families to support, and most considered their income sufficient for their
[124] essential needs. About 30 men were asked what they would do with $A 1,000 if it were given to them; only one replied that he would spend it on food and other necessities, the rest stating housing or education for their children.

121 However, the degree to which population pressure is felt is better
182 determined by what men do than by what they say. There are a
166 number of possible reactions to population pressure, but only one of these, migration, is really significant in Tonga. In land tenure, for
182 instance, there has as yet been no trend towards subdivision of
423 allotments, even though this is not prohibited should the legal heir to the land be willing, and land disputes are rare. The only response by those in control of land matters, the Government and the chiefs, to the problems brought by population growth has been a belated
182 effort to complete the survey and allocation of allotments. In agri-
241 culture there has been a steady intensification of the system and a

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

Oral Traditions

An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga

SIONE LATUKEFU

IN THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH WHICH I WAS CARRYING OUT IN TONGA TOWARDS the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 I recorded, among other oral testimonies, a good collection of oral traditions from the chiefs and people of Tonga, and in particular, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, at that time the living authority on these matters.

In Tonga oral traditions are preserved by social classes and by the major socio-political units of society as well as by families. Oral traditions may take the form of stories, told or sung, relating the heroic deeds of clan founders or important historical personages. There are family titles with stories of their origins and of those who succeeded to them, in some cases tracing back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Place names, proverbial sayings, songs[1] and traditional ceremonial mats have historical events associated with them which are still known. There are songs, sometimes accompanied by dances, which relate ritual or historical events. At Kolovai, where I come from, we perform a *lakalaka*, a dance performed by lines of men and women and accompanied by singing. This *lakalaka*, known as *milolua*, relates how to carry out the ceremony of kava making. At Lifuka, in Ha'apai, I recorded a *lakalaka* which recounts the feats of the celebrated King George who defeated the *Tu'i Tonga* at the war of Velata, fought in 1825-1826.

The traditions are kept mainly by the chiefs of the social group concerned or by their *Kau-matāpule* (attendants). Both men and women of chiefly rank may know the traditions but there are no formal keepers of traditions as in some African societies. In Tonga certain individuals are especially well informed, and they may be referred to as *tangata 'ilo* (or *fefine 'ilo* if a woman) meaning 'one who knows'. Certain social classes have knowledge of particular traditions, as for instance the *Ha'atufunga* class which knows all the ceremonial and traditional lore concerned with the burial of kings and chiefs. The major socio-political units also preserve certain traditions, such as the rituals and ceremonials connected with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* royal dynasty, which are kept by the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*.

The controversy over the value of oral traditions is well known and

[1] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright (London, 1965), 51-2.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

all that need be said here about it is that at present the climate of opinion among scholars is more favourable to their use in historical research. The voices of men such as Robert Lowie, who once declared that he could not 'attach to oral tradition any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever',[2] and of B. Malinowski and his fellow functionalists, no longer seem to receive a sympathetic hearing. On the other hand works based on a critical use of oral traditions, such as those of John Barnes in his reconstructions of the political structure of the Ngoni and Raymond Firth's *History and Traditions of Tikopia*,[3] are widely acclaimed by scholars.

While accepting the view that no absolute truth can be expected from oral traditions since those who preserve them probably do so for reasons of social, economic or political advantage, and while agreeing with Malinowski that distortion results from the sociological functions of current historical traditions,[4] I could not accept the argument that they have no historical value whatsoever. McCall is correct in saying that 'to recognize the limitations of the use of traditions is not the same as denying their value'.[5] If social scientists were seeking only bias-free evidence they would have very little indeed to go on, even with written documents. The question that confronted me, therefore, was not whether to ignore or use oral traditions, but rather how, in using them, distortions could be detected and the likely sources of bias given proper recognition.

One of the first requirements for successful use of oral traditions is a good knowledge of the local language. This has been one of the handicaps suffered by many foreign investigators who have worked in Tonga. I had the advantage of being able to work in my own language. There can be distortions introduced through the use of interpreters, particularly where educated and reliable ones are hard to come by. At least a working knowledge of the language can avoid some unnecessary embarrassments. R. C. Suggs tells how once in the Marquesas he 'met a poor fellow who had a long vocabulary list of what he considered essential words such as "bread", "egg", "water" etc. The list was actually one of obscenities—his informants had given him the word for penis in place of bread, testicle in place of egg, semen for water, etc.'.[6] A similar thing occurred in Tonga in an

[2] R. Lowie, 'Oral Tradition and History', *Journal of American Folklore*, XXX (1917), 161-7.
[3] J. A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society* (London, 1954); R. Firth, *History and Traditions of Tikopia* (Wellington, 1961).
[4] R. Firth (*ed.*), *Man and Culture. An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski* (London, 1957), 21.
[5] D. F. McCall, *Africa in Time-Perspective: a discussion of historical reconstruction from unwritten sources* (Boston, 1965), 54.
[6] R. C. Suggs, *The Hidden Worlds of Polynesia* (London, 1963), 111.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

archaeological investigation carried out during the 1920s. The author's monograph tells us of one of the royal tombs: 'Tradition says that a Tui Tonga Fefine (female Tui Tonga) named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here'.[1] Had the author learned enough Tongan he would have realized that *taemoemimi*, while seeming to be a respectable name as one word, was in fact made up of three separate words, which literally translated mean 'excreta and urine'—a most unlikely name for a royal personage.

A knowledge of the local culture is another essential, not only for correctly interpreting data but also for establishing good rapport with people, especially informants. The investigator who fails in this may find himself in a similar situation to the archaeologist referred to above.

While I did not face the same difficulties that a foreign investigator might find, there were still some problems in obtaining co-operation. In Tonga, as already noted, oral traditions are mostly known by chiefs and they are usually jealously guarded, for such knowledge was and still is a source of tremendous prestige. People take a pride in being known as *'tangata 'ilo'*. Consequently it takes tact and patience to obtain their knowledge from them.

While in Ha'apai, the middle group of islands of Tonga, early in 1965 I went to the widow of one of the high chiefs who had died a few years previously. The deceased chief was widely known to have been the best informed person on the traditions of the area. I had heard a rumour that he had left a book in which he had recorded his historical and traditional reminiscences. When I arrived at the place the widow and her son welcomed me. We talked for a while before I mentioned that I had heard about the 'book'. Immediately I was told that the last they had heard of it was that it was with a cousin somewhere over 100 miles away. I then told them what a pity it was that such an invaluable document was not available to be quoted and duly acknowledged in my work and moreover that it should be preserved in the government archives, which I myself was supposed to be establishing, where it could be protected against the effects of tropical climate and could be carefully labelled as their property, being taken care of by Her Majesty's government. As I finished speaking I noticed that the mother and son exchanged looks, showing that they had taken my words to heart. When I left they expressed regret that my visit had been so short and unexpected, but if I could come back the following day the son would write down his reminiscences of the stories told by his father. Next

[1] W. C. McKern, *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication no. 15. B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 60 (Honolulu, 1929), 53.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

124 morning the book which was supposed to be 100 miles away was there on the table for me to inspect.

There were many others who were reluctant to part with their precious stories and who only did so after they felt assured that I would not use any of them in my work without their approval and that everything which I used would be duly acknowledged. It is interesting to note that exactly the same conditions were put to me by the Australian descendants of early missionaries to Tonga, from whom I obtained family documents and written diaries.

114 The most rewarding part of my research in Tonga came more by accident than by design. On the morning of the New Year, 1965, I decided to
114 pay a courtesy call on Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote. According to our
644 customs, as a commoner I was not entitled to an audience; but being aware
[565] of Her Majesty's interest in my research, I decided to call and pay her my respects. The courtiers received me with enthusiasm, and everyone tried to help by attempting to tell Her Majesty of my call. However the Queen's personal nurse, perhaps annoyed by the courtiers' attempts to contact the Queen without consulting her, decided to exert her authority and told me that I could not see Her Majesty. I then returned home, a distance of some 11 miles from the capital. However one of the courtiers had decided to tell Queen Sālote about the episode, probably because she felt they had been humiliated by the royal nurse. Soon after, an Inspector of Police arrived bearing a letter to say that Her Majesty wanted to see me before her de-
114 parture for New Zealand for medical treatment. At this audience, which
124 lasted for about an hour, she invited me to join her in Auckland later that month, so that I could record her historical and traditional reminiscences. The news of my invitation by Her Majesty soon spread throughout Tonga, and from then on I had no difficulty in getting any information I wanted from the people.

124 In collecting material I mainly interviewed my informants. In these
126 interviews I recorded the text offered either by taking notes or by tape recording. No questionnaire was used, in order not to interrupt the flow of the narrative, but I would sometimes ask questions about a particular event. The notes or tape recordings were read or played back to the informants to ensure that they were satisfied with them. With Her Majesty I took notes as well as tape recordings. After the interview I wrote up the material
124 and gave it back to her for perusal and correction. In some cases I invited well informed people for a kava party where questions of traditions were raised and discussed and I noted the result. The advantage of this method was that the heated discussion that sometimes took place helped to revive

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

and sharpen their memories. Whenever I recorded traditions, particularly tales, as many versions as possible were taken, and detailed information about each informant was kept, such as name, sex, age, position, rank and his *Ha'a* or social group membership. This information proved useful later in cross-checking the reliability of the various accounts.

I have already mentioned the great need for patience and tact in this type of work. Some of my informants, prompted perhaps partly by a desire to be regarded as *tangata 'ilo*, or by the idea of being quoted and acknowledged in the 'book', or perhaps by their fondness of hearing their voices on the tape recorder, gave long tales most of which were not worth recording. However I maintained a show of interest and listened patiently, recording what they had to say. I did this for two reasons: firstly, because they sometimes came up with something worthwhile; and secondly, if I had shown impatience or lack of interest, word might have spread and others who were perhaps better informants might become reluctant to offer information.

In Tonga no stringent measures were adopted to preserve accuracy in oral traditions, and consequently they are prone to variation. In attempting to arrive at the historical truth behind a number of conflicting versions I noted the points at which they differed and checked these against other evidence such as traditional sayings, place names, titles or any other information which might support one or other account. For example there is a controversy over the birthplace of King George Tupou I of Tonga. I have discussed this in detail in my thesis and I shall merely refer here to a few of the points of conflict in order to illustrate the method of cross-checking. According to the traditions held by the people of Tongatapu and by Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, King George was born at Fualu on Tongatapu. According to the traditions of the 'Uiha people of Ha'apai he was born at Lifuka in Ha'apai. Both versions agree that his mother developed a craving for human blood during her pregnancy and that this led her father, Ma'afu of Vaini, to give instructions that the infant should be killed at birth if he were a boy since he would be a danger to Tonga. In the Tongatapu version, Tāufa'āhau's mother was taken to safety by a kinsman to Kahoua, at Fualu, Tongatapu, and there gave birth to her son. The Tongatapu people argue that the name given to the infant supports their version because there is a place at Mu'a, on Tongatapu, which is called 'Āhau where the god Tāufa-i-tahi was supposed to reside, and they say this was the origin of Tāufa'āhau. However the 'Uiha people of Ha'apai say that Tāufa'āhau's mother was brought to 'Uiha. From there she was taken to a small neighbouring island where grows a certain plant with a strong

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

sickening smell called *ngahu*. She complained of being sickened by its smell and from that time on the island became known as Luangahu (*lua*—sick or vomit; hence 'sickened by *ngahu*'). Later she was taken to another small island where she actually became sick and this place is still known as Lanihoko, meaning 'actually vomiting'. From there they went to yet another island where they spent the night and this time she awoke with pains. This island is still known as Ofolanga which means 'awaken by pains'. They hurried back to 'Uiha but could not get there in time, so they called at Lifuka and there, on the beach, she gave birth. This spot is called Niu'ui *(niu—coconut, ui—call) which is supposed to be due to people calling out* for a coconut with which to prepare a baby food. The 'Uiha people's version was supported by Siola'ā Soakai, a very knowledgable *matāpule* at Pangai, Lifuka, who recalled a speech delivered by Tu'ipelehake, the grandfather of the late Queen Sālote, at the opening of the hospital which is now situated at Nui'ui, in which comment had been made on the appropriateness of a hospital site built upon the very spot where Tāufa'āhau's afterbirth was buried. It is interesting to note that the Ha'apai people are also able to account for the name Tāufa'āhau, since there was a local god named Tāufa-i-tahi who lived at a place called 'Āhau on Lifuka as well. The discrepancies between these oral traditions may become a subject of heated discussion at some of the national ceremonies when people from various parts of Tonga congregate. As a result people of one locality are usually aware of the existence of different versions elsewhere, even though they may not know the details, and in any case are usually convinced that their own version is the 'correct one'!

Oral traditions can be of great value to the historian when they are used cautiously and efforts are made to detect the sources of distortion in them. In some instances they provided information about periods of Tongan history for which no written sources existed. One of these happened to be one of the most important wars in Tonga which was crucial in deciding the fate of the two rival royal dynasties, the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. It took place during a period when there were no Europeans such as William Mariner or Vason to give eye-witness accounts, although it was after these men's sojourn in Tonga. Thus the oral traditions were the only existing source of information on the events of 1825 and 1826. The different accounts of the war which I obtained were inevitably coloured by personal and group biases. After recording several different versions, I was faced with the task of checking and cross-checking them in an attempt to arrive at what I believed to be closest to the truth.

The 'Uiha people played down considerably in their version of the war

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most outstanding heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors, and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people, were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhetoka had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself, as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva intervened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance, Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat') and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a noble title.

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fortress, god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following account in his history of Tonga:

[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192.

70: Skinner A-5 (1965) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

FRAGMENT OF A CARVED BOX FROM VAVA'U

H. D. Skinner

In Vava'u in October, 1965, Tufua 'Utoikamanu showed me a number of pieces illustrating material culture of earlier times. Among them was a fragment about 48 inches long of a carved rectangular box made of breadfruit wood. She told me she had received it as a gift from her father, Fekaleaki 'Utoikamanu, who stated that he had secured it at Tu' anikivale, Vava'u. When complete it had been used to hold arrows (*nga hau*). Tufua believes the surface shown is the side of the box, but it seemed to me to be part of the bottom. Along one edge of the side it has two chisel-cut holes. It would appear that through these holes passed the cords attaching lid to body. Fekaleaki said he had intervened to preserve the fragment when the box had been carelessly mishandled. The decorative motive represents interlacing series of cords or braids, a motive frequently present in the decorative pattern of Tongan war clubs. This same motive is present also in Tongan stone work.(1) The box appears to be related to the Maori treasure-boxes often loosely called *waka-huia*.

Fekaleaki stated that many years ago his nephew told him he had been present when a body was being moved from an ancient grave. When the dressed stone slabs enclosing the grave were moved a wooden box was seen enclosing bones and hair. The coffin was decorated precisely in the style of the box here figured.(2) When exposed to outside air the coffin crumbled to dust. The human hair and the bones were wrapped in fresh mats and were buried in a new grave.

REFERENCE

McKern, W. C., 1929. *Archaeology of Tonga.* Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 60.

1. McKern 1929: Plate IIIC. "Incised decorations on stone of the Langi Katoa, Mua, Tongatabu". Stone on right has pattern identical with that on box fragment.
2. The line drawing is by K. M. Peters.

[424 cont.]

000 burnt as it were at the tips. He had three circular spots on each
175 arm, about the size of a crown piece, consisting of several concentric
304 circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the
[171] Taheitians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black
[301] punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes
in the lap of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger.
175 He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others,
609 who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative
201 turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses,
175 spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time. In
the mean while we arrived at the N.W. point of the island, where we
struck soundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our
175 anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by
439 a number of canoes, each containing three or four [425] people,
175 who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes
501 were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked
[171] or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of
poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of
these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together
with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had
[171] received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades,
something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of
175 better wood. They made a great deal of noise about us, every one
439 shewing what he had to sell, and calling to some one of us, who
175 happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing,
[609] and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were
[565] bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least
[43]
[201]

[425 cont.]

175 609 565 [431] [201] hesitation, and one of these seemed to be a chief, or a man of some quality, and was accordingly treated with a number of presents, which he severally laid on his head, when he received them, saying fagafetai every time. Our English cloth and linen he admired most, and iron wares in the next degree. His behaviour was very free and unconcerned; for he went down into the cabin, and whereever[A] we 175 thought fit to conduct him. He likewise told us, upon our enquiry, 101 that the island near which we lay at anchor, (the same which 124 Tasman called Middleburg) was called Ea-Oowhe among his country-men; and that the [426] other to the north (or Tasman's Amsterdam island) bore the name of Tonga-Tabboo. We consulted several of the natives, in order to have greater certainty on this point, and always received the same names in answer.

175 123 After breakfast, the captains went on shore with us and the chief, who had continued on board all that time. A bed of coral 175 123 rocks surrounded the coast, towards the landing-place; but many 609 canoes occupied the deep channels between these rocks, and a great [133] number of inhabitants in them as well as on the shore, shouted for [439] joy at our approach. The canoes immediately came along side the boat, [431] and the natives threw great bales of cloth into it, without asking for any thing in return; while many of both sexes swam about perfectly naked, holding up some trifles, such as rings of tortoise-shell, fish-hooks of mother of pearl, and the like, for sale. As soon as we could make way through the throng of canoes, we approached as near as possible to the shore, and were carried to it out of our boat, 175 for which the natives very readily offered their backs. The people 609 thronged about us with every expression of friendship, and offered

431 [A] [Sic--Analyst.]

[438 cont.]

175 181 609 439 disposition, which had strongly [439] shone through their whole behavior towards us, and which still manifested itself in their readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have some-
175 124 times quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on
175 439 171 this subject. The several articles above enumerated, together with all their sorts of cloth, their elegant mats, which for workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee, and a great many other trifles too tedious to mention, they brought to sell, and with great eagerness exchanged for small nails, and sometimes for beads. But in respect of the latter their taste was different from that of the Taheitians; for the latter always chose those that were transparent, but the people of Ea-oowhe would take no other than black opaque
175 439 [648] beads, with red, blue, and white stripes. We traded with them till dinner-time, and then re-embarked in order to return on board the ships; but were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of a grapnel, which the natives had contrived to steal almost as soon as it was let down into the water. Their kind looks and acclamations followed us till we returned on board, where a number of them traded in their canoes with the same sorts of goods which we had purchased
175 164 on shore. We saw several persons among them afflicted with leprous complaints, in some of which the disorder had risen to a [440] high degree of virulence; one man in particular had his whole back and shoulders covered with a large cancerous ulcer, which was perfectly livid within, and of a bright yellow all round the edges. A woman was likewise unfortunate enough to have all her face destroyed

[443 cont.]

175 I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had
123 not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of
609 our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor
their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us.
175 Their women were, in general, [444] reserved, and turned with
609 disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of
832 them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our
people with lascivious gestures."

175 The next morning early the captain went on shore with us,
124 and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining
431 by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our
175 only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words,
124 which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the
197 idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the
[114] language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and
Mahine (or O-Hedeèdee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora
who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally
new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them
the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar
modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the
natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them.
175 They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived
433 it defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit,
[231] few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return,
[276] however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating
[609] pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

[470 cont.]

175 648 609 000 venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion. Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-easternmost isles belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general character. He called his discovery the Archipel des Navigateurs, 175 648 justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of 175 178 Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition, 175 439 &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory [124] of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have [412] been brought to the island in Tasman's time. [471] We purchased one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is [415] now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives themselves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree 175 171 with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed [648] petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their [304] [565] custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's

[471 cont.]

175 171 304 565 000 and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respectful even to servility towards the Dutch; their king prostrated himself before a Dutch purser and their chiefs placed their necks under his foot (23). These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon

175 181

23. See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

meanness and cowardice; but we never had reason to suppose them

175 181 609 tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of intentions [472] inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming. Here, however, as in all other societies of men, we found exceptions to the general character, and had reason to lament the behaviour of

175 123 vicious individuals. Dr. Sparrman and myself having left the beach where the Latoo attracted the attention of all our people, entered the wood in pursuit of farther discoveries in our branch of science.

[124] The first discharge of my fowling-piece at a bird brought three natives towards us, with whom we entered into conversation, as far as our superficial knowledge of their tongue would permit. Soon after, Dr. Sparrman stepped aside into a thicket in search of a bayonet,

175 123 648 which he had lost from the end of his musket. One of the natives, finding the temptation of the moment irresistible, grasped my fowling-piece, and struggled to wrest it from me. I called to my companion, and the two other natives ran away, unwilling to become accomplices in this attack. In the struggle our feet were entangled in a bush, and we both fell together; but the native, seeing he could not gain his point, and perhaps dreading the arrival of Dr. Sparrman, got up

[472 cont.]

175 123 [648] before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow, our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the 175 571 [517] people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with 175 142 302 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular, whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in 175 524 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples, perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity, 175 533 184 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes 175 535 292 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list 124 439 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

175 [473 cont.]
535 of coco-nut core, and ornamented with shell-work and red feathers,
124 or such [474] as were curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of
[292] fretwork. From these gestures I have great reason to suppose that
[439] their dances are of a dramatic kind, and public, like those which
[171] I have spoken of in the Society Isles, (See pag. 398). Schouten
175 and Le Maire likewise strongly confirm this supposition by their
171 account of the dances at Horne Island (24). It appeared, upon
[535]

24. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. II. p. 47.

the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have a great affinity with those of the Taheitians, and that it would not therefore be very singular to find a coincidence even in their amusements. The greatest differences between these two tribes, who must have originated from the same stock, seem to be owing to the different nature of their islands. The Society Isles are well furnished with wood, and the tops of their mountains are still
[311] covered with inexhaustible forests. At the Friendly Isles this
[137] article is much scarcer, the surface (at least of those which we
[342] have seen) being almost entirely laid out in plantations. The natural consequence is, that the houses are lofty and of immense extent in the first group of islands; but much smaller and less convenient in
[501] the last. In one the canoes are numerous, I may almost say innumerable, and many of a vast size, and, in the other, very few in number, and
175 much smaller. The mountains of the Society Isles continually attract
171 the vapours from the atmosphere, and many rivulets descend [475]
312 from the broken rocks into the plain, where they wind their serpentine course and glide smoothly to the sea. The inhabitants of those islands take advantage of this gift of bountiful nature, and not

121 knowledge of cultural principles can one expect to predict behavior patterns? If not, what is the relationship between cultural principles and behavior? To begin answering these questions, two bodies of data are used: (1) a conscious model constructed from cultural principles relevant to kinship reciprocity, and (2) a behavioral pattern constructed from observed events.

121 602 The Tongan conscious model of kinship reciprocity depicts a flow of goods based on the ranking of kinship categories. These data exist at the conscious level; they do not include inferences concerning the [128] subconscious of social actors. In the text of this paper I use the terms ideological model and conscious model to refer to the pattern or kinship reciprocity described by cultural principles. The term, model, as used here means a representation of a behavioral pattern.

The phenomenal level of kinship reciprocity is represented by a behavioral pattern constucted from a sample of exchange events occurring between kinsmen. The behavioral pattern does not constitute a model as it is built up from the data; i.e., it is not a model of kinship reciprocity; it is kinship reciprocity.

Sampling Units and Samples

121 125 Exchange events are the sampling units and are defined as all transfers of goods or services from one principal to another in which rights of ownership and/or usufruct are also transferred. Two samples [124] of exchange events were obtained from one village. A stratified random sample, sample A, was drawn by selecting twenty household heads

125 through a procedure of random draws; methodologically, each household
121 head was considered to be a single stratum. For each household head
124 selected, all exchange events in which he or she was a principal were recorded for a period of five days. With five days being recorded for each of twenty informants, a one hundred-day record of exchanges was obtained. All one hundred days were recorded in one two-week period with the days recorded for each informant determined by his availability. Sundays were excluded from the sample as the government outlaws most economic activities on the Sabbath. Sample A, then, was used to obtain information on all types of exchanges including purchasing, trading, and gift-giving. This sample was also used to gather data on household incomes, consumption patterns, and household inventories.

A second stratified, random sample, sample B, was drawn by utilizing all household heads in the village, each informant being a single stratum. The procedure in this instance was to visit each informant at approximately two-week intervals and record information on four exchange events, two in which the informant had been a recipient and two in which he had been the donor. All exchange events in this sample involve material items or money where money was transferred as a gift or loan. Sample, B, then, consists only of exchange events that are instances of reciprocity, and is used to analyze the patterns of reciprocity.

121 Samples A and B were both obtained in the village of Puke which
125 was the scene of most of the research for this study. Puke is described
[101] in Chapter II. The samples are representative of exchange events

121
125 involving residents of that village during the active research period.

121
124 A sample of adoption transactions was obtained in another village
125 by an exhaustive sample of households. In each household the household head or his spouse was asked about the adoptive status of each of their children. Then information pertaining to the adoptive status of the household head and his siblings was obtained along with the same information for his spouse. The sample of adoptions and sample B discussed above provide the data for the behavioral patterns presented in Chapter VI. These samples will be more fully described where they are relevant to description or analysis.

[123] The conscious model of kinship reciprocity consists of data collected using the informal technique of participant-observation. In this case the conscious model was elicited again and again under various circumstances and from many different informants. The conscious model as presented in Chapter VI is a standardized version of ideals generally recognizable by members of the Tongan community. I think it safe to say that the conscious model is shared and accepted throughout Tongan society.

Field Techniques and Circumstances

114
101 Active research in the village selected as the research location began in December, 1970, and ended in September, 1971; throughout this period I had almost daily contact with the residents of this village.
123 I used the technique of participant-observation to collect data on several topics including social structure, kinship, subsistence, adop-

123 tion and fosterage, and interpersonal relationships generally.

125 Early in the research period a census of the village was conducted to obtain demographic information including data on housing, landholding status, and dominant economic pursuits for each household in the village.

124 Information on exchange events was collected by using formal survey techniques, but I might indicate here that survey research would have been difficult without first establishing myself as a rather consistent and benign part of the village milieu.[1] Participant-observation also allowed me to observe much of the material I recorded through the surveys and thereby provided an informal check on reliability and validity of that information.[2]

124 I do not pretend that the data on exchange events are perfectly accurate or representative of all exchanges. For instance, I know that informants failed to mention many exchange events which involved small, and what they considered to be insignigicant, items such as coconuts, salt, water and a number of other items; this was particularly true early in the research period. In fact, one household head was removed from the sample because he consistently gave information on only the exchange of large, prestigious items. Two others had to be deleted because of their absence during the research period.

114 122 124 During research an assistant acted as interpreter when necessary and provided valuable assistance in arranging transportation, interviews, and in establishing rapport with informants. I had two assistants during two different periods and found both to be willing and

114 115

A,B,[For footnotes, see p. 122--Analyst]

capable helpers, who were themselves constantly available as informants.

My own lack of competence in the Tongan language was a limiting factor but I was able to conduct inquiry into certain area in Tongan, primarily kinship and exchange, and I could administer the survey questionnaires. Only two of the adults in the village had any degree of competence in English, and both were usually unavailable as interpreters or informants.

The village I chose in which to conduct the study was selected primarily because of its convenient location and relatively small size.[3] Puke is atypical of Tongatapu villages as it includes many recent immigrants from relatively isolated areas of the Kingdom, and can be generally described as one of the less developed villages. However, these characteristics of the village were only known in retrospect and it was not chosen because of them.

A.[For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

612 birthday celebrations. A group formed in this manner can be referred to as an occasional kin group. The kāinga then is an egocentric group of kinsmen, theoretically coterminous for real siblings. The size of an individual's kāinga is only limited by his knowledge of his own consanguineal relations. Adult informants vary considerably as to the number of kinsmen with whom they can remember exact ties, some knowing as few as 90 and some knowing as many as 200.

[124]

For ego, kāinga is a category which is conceptually opposed to non-kinsmen. Kinsmen are a sphere of people who are more trustworthy, more dependable, and more willing to assist ego than any other segment of society. Among kinsmen 'the spirit and reality of cooperation' fetoko-ni'aki should always prevail.

The kāinga is divided into fourteen categories and each category is associated with a different set of behavioral correlates. Further refinement of this kin categories is specified by a ranking system, which ranks not only the categories but ranks individuals within the categories.

601 Kin Categories and Kin Ranking

Tongan kin terminology utilizes the criteria of sex of ego relative to alter, the sex of alter, bifurcation, and genealogical distance to distinguish categories. In G-1 the four categories are determined by the sex of alter and the sex of the first connecting link in any genealogical sequence. In ego's generation categories are distinguished by the criteria of alter's sex relative to ego, and alter's sex. In G-1 all three criteria--sex of ego, sex of alter, and bifurcation are

CHAPTER IV

ADOPTION AND KINSHIP

128 In this chapter I will present and discuss adoption of children as
597 one kind of exchange event and in Chapter VI, I will compare the pattern of reciprocity existing in adoption transactions with the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Also in this chapter, I want to examine the motivations and beliefs pertaining to adoption as they further illustrate and clarify Tongan kin relationships and family organizations.

597 Nearly all adult Tongans have had some experience with adoption, either as adopters, adoptees, or by having more distant adopted kinsmen. The Tongan government sanctions only a few of these adoptions. Few applications for adoption are made to the courts because the circumstances of Tongan adoption do not fit the European model of adoption applied in the courts. In 1970 eighteen applications for adoption were made in the courts, sixteen of these were granted, and two were refused (Roberts 1970: 3). Of the 125 cases of adoption recorded during research only one was a legally recognized adoption.

597 The village of Puke, being small, had only a few cases of adoption
101 so a larger village, Vaini, was used for this part of the study. Vaini is a village of about one hundred households located on Tongatapu (See
597 Map 2). All households in Vaini were sampled by using the household head
124 or the household head's wife as an informant. Each informant was asked

[See p. 25--Analyst]

597 to provide information on the adoption of any of their children, the
124 adoption of any of their siblings, and the adoption of any of their
[125] spouse's siblings. In this way a sample of eighty-one adoptions was obtained. It is this sample that provides the statistical data presented in this chapter.

855 In contrast to Western practices of child rearing, the rights and duties of jural parenthood are dispersed and extended to a large number of kinsmen, neighbors, and friends. For instance, a child is seldom called home at mealtime if he is working or playing elsewhere; parents assume that he will be fed wherever he happens to be within the village. It is also expected tha neighbors will generally look after a child
593 whenever he is near their home. Parents frequently leave children of
855 five or older at home while they go to their garden or perform some other task and assume their children will be looked after without any explicit arrangements having been made. Reciprocally, the persons assuming the duties of parenthood claim some of the rights of parents. For instance, adults can expect neighbors' children to run errands and execute minor tasks for them, and they may use corporal punishment to insure that orders are obeyed.

855 When explicit arrangements are made for an adult to care for another's child, the term tokanga'i is used to describe the arrangement. This type of transfer of parental role is only for short periods of time, from a few hours to a few days, and is nearly identical to the Western practice of babysitting.

NOTES

Chapter I

000 [1]Initial fieldwork in the village of Puke was characterized by suspicion and even hostility on the part of some villagers.

[2]At times the same exchange event would be recorded from the donor and the recipient. This provided an excellent opportunity to check for reliability, and then only the first record of the exchange would be used in the sample.

[494] [122] [3]Puke was convenient because transportation was available and reliable between the village and Nuku'alofa where I resided.

Chapter II

[436] [1]The basic unit of Tongan currency is the pa'anga 'dollar' and during this study it was valued at $T1.00 = $US1.14. All monetary figures in this text are expressed in Tongan currency.

[128] [2]Titles referred to in this text are actual titles, but all personal names appearing are fictitious.

Chapter III

[124] [1]Very few informants remember names of ancestors further removed than great grandparents.

[804] [2]One rood and 24 perches equals 64 square rods or about 3/8 acre.

Chapter IV

[1]I did record one case of adoption by an unmarried male, but that case was not in the sample from which I am generalizing.

[2]In 56 percent of adoptions recorded the adopting parents and the biological parents resided in the same village, giving ample opportunity for an adoptee to continue seeing his biological parents.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127 concepts to the descriptions (Vide Fenton 1966: 75; Lurie 1961).

The ethnohistorical researcher often combines archival research with ethnographic field work in the society (Vide Dodge 1968: 9; Lurie 1961: 87; Gunson 1963: 417; and Cohn 1968). For the Tongan research I went to Tonga not only to see what the present day society was like but also to gather some specific information based on questions raised in the course of reading. En route to Australia in 1970 I assessed the quantity and quality of the Tongan archival materials for my specific ethnographic reconstruction problem. Returning to Tonga in 1971 I cross-checked some ethnographic information in the 19th Century manu-
127 script with 20th Century Tongan interpretations of the past. This
124 ethnographic information included questions on Tongan historical events of the 19th Century and comparisons of manuscript and genealogical data gathered in Australia with both written and verbal genealogies in Tonga.

Thomas recorded a vast range of miscellaneous information and in 1971 I queried some Tongans about some of his statements. As an
127 example, at one point in his journal Thomas wrote:
825

> The reason why the whales are said to come so near land at this time is--that this is the yam planting season--viz. digging holes in the soil for the yams to grow in. It is said that many worms are now out & destroyed and as the whale considers the worm as his tama sympathy is supplied to bring them near (Thomas, Journal, September 21, 1848).

The term tama has as its referent, a child, especially a son, and also
124 "fellow one,--even of animals, fish, etc." (Churchward 1959: 451). In 1971, while in Tonga, I queried some Tongans about whaling practices and myths concerning them. The Tongans I spoke to had never heard of

127 [825] [124] this story, yet it sounded 'logical' to some. Whether or not I can eventually accept Thomas' description for a statement of ethnohistorical fact on Tongan mythology remains to be seen, since this is the only instance I had recorded an extract of this type from the manuscript accounts. But ethnohistorical researchers can gather information recorded in the past, ask the natives for contemporary descriptions, and see what is the correlation between the descriptions.

Tongan ethnohistorical information of the 19th Century must be considered not only in the context of aboriginal Tongan society but also in the context of aboriginal Polynesian society. Do the missionary descriptions "make sense" in the context of what is known and accepted for other Polynesian societies? The missionaries frequently 127 192 776 775 wrote of 'otua and in his 1826 account, Thomas wrote of the "hootooa or spirit." A 19th Century Wesleyan dictionary transcribed the term as "Otua" and defines it as "God" (Rabone 1845: 20). Other checks for external consistency may be made on this term. Mariner's 1817 work on Tonga, which the missionaries had access to, had: "God (a spirit of any kind). Hotooa" (Mariner 1817, II: no page). Cross-checking Mariner's own vocabulary one finds:

> Hotoo'a. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, soul, apparition or phantom; also any evil coming, as it were, by the infliction of the gods; a bodily complaint; a boil. This word is also sometimes applied to foreigners (Ibid.).

In Mariner's slightly revised edition of 1827, the following is found:

> Hootooa. An immaterial being, as a god, spirit, &c., also any evil by the infliction of the gods, a bodily complaint, a boil. This word sometimes applies to foreigners (Mariner 1827, II: lxxii).

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

824 If two or more varieties are recognized, descriptive names are attached to a common base name. Some examples of commonly used descriptive names are as follows:

1. (Colors)
   hina, white; *kula*, red; *uli*, black
2. (Locality)
   cao, the forest; *tahi*, the seashore; *utu*, cliffs; *uta*, inland; *ano*, swamp
3. (Anatomical features)
   matolu, thick; *hako*, long; *talatala*, prickly, thorny; *tolu*, trifoliate; *leka*, dwarf; *puku*, short; *lalahi*, large; *molemole*, smooth; *petepete*, rough
4. (Food value)
   kai, edible; *kona*, poisonous; *fifisi*, hot
5. (Country of origin)
   fisi, Fiji; *ha'amoa*, Samoa; *honolulu*, Honolulu; *initia*, India; *papalangi*, Europe

Names sometimes refer to bodily parts or function: e.g., *Te'ete'cmanu* (*Ervatamia orientalis*) is translated as "the animal that lives within the gum and causes tooth decay." This species happens to be used in treating toothache. *Te'epilo'amaui* (*Geniostoma* spp.) means "fecal matter of the god Maui," referring to the bark, which is used medicinally and has a very disagreeable odor.

[192] Also, there has been much borrowing of Western language in Tonga, as apparent in the Tongan names for cultivated plants.

Tongan Name	Western Name
kofi	coffee
kuava	guava
mango	mango
manioke	manioc
pasione	passion flower
tapaka	tobacco

IV. Field Work

122 In Tonga I stayed in a small boarding house that catered to resident Europeans on extended tours in the archipelago. One of the other guests was an officer with the World Health Organization who had been working in Tonga for four years. A co-worker of hers at the government hospital

[124]

[p. 434-A]

122 was a Tongan woman whose mother was
124 an active practitioner of Tongan medicine. I was introduced to the older lady by my fellow boarder as a trustworthy student from the University of Hawaii, and it was a result of this introduction that this practitioner from Nuku'alofa shared many remedies with me.

122 About one week after I arrived in Tonga, Mumui Tatola returned from the Ha'apai group in the archipelago and I met him as planned. He is a doctor who was trained in Fiji at the medical school, and we had first met at the University of Hawaii where he was in residence at the East-West Center for additional training. I had met with him about six months before leaving for Tonga, and he had encouraged me to come to his country to undertake this study. He had told me that his mother was an active practitioner and that he would make arrangements for me to receive much information regarding plants and their medical applications. This loose agreement made in Honolulu turned out to be the actual case in Tonga. I prepared to move to the village of Mu'a where his mother was living but thought it wise to keep my "headquarters" at the Beach House. This turned out to be a fortunate arrangement, because when the townspeople came to know who I was and the nature of my work, this rooming house became a convenient place for would-be informants to leave messages for me.

124 I stayed in Mu'a until all of the best-known practitioners described as many remedies as they wanted to divulge. No doubt they each held back their most valued remedies, but this was to be expected since I was a newcomer to their village. In any case I expect that these people had to answer to the Tatola family if they withheld too many of their remedies because Mumui enjoyed great status on Tongatapu, and I had been introduced as a friend of his from Hawaii. I believe that in some way I was receiving the benefits of Mumui's free education in Hawaii. It appeared to me that while I was being introduced, the reluctance to cooperate almost always disappeared whenever the word Hawaii was mentioned in the laudatory introduction.

The director of the local radio station

124 learned that I had been granted an audience with King Tupou IV at the Royal Palace in Nuku'alofa, and he made a public announcement about my presence and the nature of my work. As a result of this unexpected publicity, several people with information about plant medicines came to see me at the Beach House. These remedies were copied by Mrs. Olga Moa of Vava'u from a manuscript written by her deceased mother. King Tupou thought that this lady was very knowledgeable in Tongan medicine and suggested that I contact her daughter, Mrs. Moa, as I have done.

Through the kind efforts of a United States Peace Corps volunteer who had been living in Tofoa Village for nearly two years I was introduced to a practitioner in that village who spent many days with me, showing me plants and describing their medical uses.

During the course of my short three-month stay on Tongatapu I believe that I interviewed all of the well-known and some of the lesser-known practitioners. Some of these people chose not to divulge their names. I include here a list of those informants whose names I learned and who were responsible for much of the material on medicinal plants and their uses contained in this study.

115 Mu'a:

Violet Tatola
(An experienced practitioner.) Plants and medical uses.

Siafoou Tatola
(Daughter of Violet and teacher in the mission school.) Field work, translation, discussion.

Mumui Tatola
(Son of Violet, trained in Fiji at the medical school and at the East-West Center in Hawaii; a practicing medical officer at the Government Hospital, Nuku'alofa.) Translation, discussion.

Muasika Fakahafua
Plants and medical uses.

Nuku'alofa:

'Anitelu Fielea
(Agricultural Officer.) Field work, discussions.

[p.435-A]

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

115 Tohi Ha'angana
(Agricultural Officer. Assistant to T. G. Yuncker when he was collecting in Tonga.) Field work, discussions, medical uses of plants.

Preben Kauffmann (Tavi)
(Expatriate from Denmark, 17 years in Tonga, friend of King Tupou IV and integral member of his community. Vegetarian.) Plants and medical uses.

Latu Toili
(Driver for Medical Department.) Plants and medical uses.

Te'ekiu Village:

Amato Uia
(A renowned practitioner with 45 years experience.) Medical uses of plants and discussions.

128 A total of 91 remedies were recorded. Included in these remedies were 59 different species of plants used by at least two different informants. References to an additional 17 species of reputed value but not met with in the field are included from the literature (29).

128
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124 The general procedure for gathering data consisted of interviewing informants in their villages. With the aid of an interpreter, data were gathered in four categories. Tongan name of the plant, the part utilized in preparing the medicine, the illness, and the preparation, dosage, and administration. Where the informant was agreeable, a walk through the village or surrounding "bush" usually allowed collection of described plant specimens. In the few cases where the informant was either too busy or too infirm to accompany the investigator, the described plants were collected under the guidance of a direct relative or friend familiar with the habitat.

124
126

In some cases it was necessary to collect the described species with the aid of an agricultural officer, going only by Tongan plant names. Although this method is open to doubt in other regions of the Pacific because of variations in dialects, the Tongan language is constant as far as plant names are concerned. There are variations on descriptive names, but all base names of plants encountered were identical from one informant to another. This was verified through repeated checking.

[824]

[p. 435-B]

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

Further reassurance regarding the consistency of plant names came while I was drying plant material later to be used as crude drug samples. As individual trays of desiccated leaves and bark were removed from copra driers, Tongan workers who had inquisitively gathered would attempt to call out the identity of the dried contents before the attached identifications were exposed. Most men were able to identify the plant names correctly, relying solely on their ability to interpret the scents and shapes of the desiccated samples.

V. Enumeration of Tongan Medicinal Plants

Specimens of 59 species of plants were collected on Tongatapu Island. The plants were identified by using Yuncker (32) and also by a study of specimens available at the Herbarium of the Bishop Museum. Final determinations were established by Dr. A. C. Smith of the University of Hawaii. Voucher specimens are on deposit at the Bishop Museum.

Following is an enumeration of plants utilized as medicines by the Tongan people. This list includes my own observations as well as those reported in the literature. Families, genera, and species are arranged alphabetically. Tongan vernacular names and geographical distributions of each species, as given by Yuncker (32), are included.

The medicinal applications of each species in some other regions of the Pacific are enumerated to show their popularity in use.

AMARANTHACEAE
(Amaranth Family)

ACHYRANTHES ASPERA L.

tamatama

This pantropical species is common throughout the archipelago.

In Tahiti the roots are used in treating mouth sores, toothache, and syphilitic sores (19). It is reported that the plant is employed in medicines in Niue (31). In the Philippines the leaves and roots are valued as diuretics and the sap for treating cataracts (21).

In Tonga the leaves are used to tie wounds after circumcision (32), and after

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

Of the 33 titles of nobility and 6 titles of estate-holding *matāpules*, 16 titles (15 noble, 1 *matāpule*) have been the subjects of succession disputes investigated and adjudicated by the Land Court from the 1920's to the present. From my data on 18 Land Court decisions concerning noble succession (from 1924-1960), the defendant (i.e., the title-holder) was upheld in 11 cases, and the plaintiff won in 7 cases. Of the 18 Land Court decisions, 14 were fully considered by Privy Council on appeal. The Privy Council upheld 11 Land Court decisions (4 of which were for the plaintiff, 7 for the defendant).[9]

An additional 6 titles have been the subject of informally expressed and rumored claims by non title-holding lines, on the basis of specific legal criteria, but these putative claims have never been heard or adjudicated by Land Court. Also, there have been informal claims to most noble titles with varying degrees of overt expression but these have had no legal basis. Such claims are grounded in traditional beliefs about holding chiefly status that have not been incorporated in the legal definition of title-holding or are based on pre-1875 conditions of chiefly succession in certain patri-lines, which the legal adjudication of titles, established in 1875 as a nobility, ignores. These claims to chiefly status by vicarious association with legally recognized title-holding lines can never be litigated and therefore must be expressed subtly and informally by processes such as gossip in local communities.

A number of litigable disputes arose soon after the initiation of the Land Court. These disputes generally reflected the surfacing in an appropriate forum of claims to titles which had been anomalously appointed in terms of the law during the reigns of Tupou I and II. Other major succession cases occasionally arose in Land Court between the 1920's and 1960. The last major case was adjudicated on appeal in 1960.[10] Although the law has not changed since that time, potential disputes have either not been formally adjudicated (in those circumstances where claimants have made petitions to have their cases heard, they have not been granted) or they have been considered, if not resolved, by some informal process outside the jurisdiction of the Land Court and involving the present monarch, the first Tongan to have gained university legal qualifications. As will be seen below, the present monarch appears to be more

[9] The major source on title cases is Hunter (1963), who was formerly the Judge of the Supreme Court. I have done intensive background research on four succession disputes, including direct contact with participants and descendants of participants. Perhaps the most valuable source on the succession disputes are the Tongan lawyers who specialised in arguing them. Of these, two are deceased, but the son of one is now a prominent lawyer and was indirectly involved in his father's cases. My most stimulating informant was a retired lawyer, who was an important participant, usually as a defence attorney, in a majority of the title cases. In referring to specific disputes in this paper, I use pseudonyms for the names of titles and places, and letters to indicate specific individuals, except for the dispute over the Kalaniuvalu title, a case of particular historical interest.

[10] A title case was heard in Land Court in 1975, after my departure from Tonga, but no judgment was given, because of insufficient evidence, and the matter was referred to Privy Council.

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

671
643 in the Vakalā case, a contemporary widely held opinion[12] concerning X is that
565 he was given the title by Tupou I because of his support and reputation as a
428 regional leader and warrior (*to'a*). Whether X was in fact an adopted child
661 or not (and there is certainly a case that can be made for either view) is
[597] irrelevant to many people. Adoption may have been the legal issue on which the dispute was determined, but the true reason why X was appointed to the Vakalā title was because he was important in Tupou I's unification of the traditional polity.

643 Thus, the nobility could be viewed as a traditionally legitimate continuity
565 with the pre-Constitutional title-holding lines or it can be viewed as the creation
661 of Tupou I of a clique of warrior upstarts through whose support the new order
428 was established. By implication, Tupou I can be seen as a reformer, who carefully respected custom by appointing those to titles who were already holding them within their chiefly kin groups or he can be seen as an upstart reformer, who manipulated or even ignored customary practices in achieving his ends. The truth probably lay somewhere in between and perhaps closer to the former
565 view. At any rate, in most instances, the noble title-holders were both the
428 most legitimate customary holders at the time of appointment as well as being the strongest leaders. It is only the cases of anomalous appointment that are
[643] strikingly ambiguous and subject to distinct alternative versions as to the intentions of Tupou I and the character of the new nobility in general.

643 Of course the authoritative and favoured view, underlying the evolution of
565 adoption as a point of law, is that Tupou I appointed his noble title-holders
428 first and foremost according to customary procedures. That is, the strength of
671 the appointees as supporters was always secondary to the customary appropria-
597 teness of their appointments. Irregular appointments, as in the case of Puakafo'ou
661 and Vakalā, could be explained by customary practice, according to this view. X as Vakalā might have been selected for inclusion within the new nobility as well as having been promoted from *matāpule* to noble status as a reward for his support, but it remains that X's association with the Vakalā title itself is a result of his association by adoption with the Vakalā patriline, and not because Tupou I seized the titles in some lines and distributed them at his own pleasure, regardless of the wishes of the descent groups involved. The fact that Tupou I

[12] I lived among the people of Vakalā's estate, Motu, with whom I discussed the Vakalā succession disputes. A frequent explanation that I heard was that although the Vakalā title had traditionally belonged to the line A-D, it was given by Tupou to X as a *pale* ('reward') for his support. This view assumes that *to'a* ('warrior abilities') was sometimes more important than *'ikiti* ('chiefliness') at the time of the transformation, and warrior achievement was sometimes rewarded by *'ikiti*- style rewards as in the Vakalā case. It was generally considered just that the Vakalā title should have been returned to its proper descent line, but there was also a sense of pity expressed for the line of X which eventually lost any formal recognition of its own heritage of *to'a* achievements, by being granted a title and estates in 1880 that were not his own. X earned noble status for the Vakalā title in the new order, and eventually the original descent line A-D repossessed this glory, earned for it by X.

121 developmental trends.

101 The research was conducted from January 1971 through January 1972 on the main island of the Tongan archipelago, 127 Tongatapu. Data sources included archives and government 124 departments, aerial photographs, market studies, personal interviews, questionnaire surveys, and in-the-field in- 121 ventories of random samples of agricultural holdings. The 423 major foci of the study were the plant assemblages found 241 on bush and town allotments, to which all Tongan males over 16 years of age are entitled. The bulk of agricultural 241 produce comes from the bush allotments which average about 8 acres (3.2 hectares) in size, with additional produce coming from town allotments where residences are normally found, and which average about 0.4 acre (0.16 hectare) in area.

Survey results indicate that approximately 34 percent of the area on bush allotments was under cultivation, the rest remaining in various stages of fallow. Of the cultivated area, 87 percent was devoted to subsistence cropping, 11 percent to commercial cropping, and the balance to a combination of the two. The most widespread staple crops were manioc, American taro, yams, sweet potatoes, taro, giant taro and plantains. Bananas comprised 42 percent of the commercial acreage with the balance consisting of crops such as watermelons, , pineapples, peanuts, plantains, corn and garden vegetables. Intercropping was

241 acres (3.3 hectares) in size. The 'api kolo are somewhat
423 fewer in number and average about one-quarter acre (0.1 hectares) in size.

Methodology

101 The majority of the data utilized in this study were collected on Tongatapu from January 1971 to January 1972. [114] Preparatory work was carried out during 1968 and 1969 while the author served as a United States Peace Corps Volunteer in Tonga. Some additional data were collected in February 1973.

12 The methodology used in acquiring the necessary data included: 1) a literature survey; 2) interviews; 3) a detailed study of the land tenure system; 4) research carried out in government departments; 5) a study of the market-place; 6) the use of aerial photography; 7) detailed ground reconnaissance survey; 8) the administration of a questionnaire; and 9) the collection and identification of herbarium specimens.

127 The literature survey was conducted in California and Tonga and at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu
124 and the Western Pacific Archives in Suva, Fiji. People interviewed included His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, members of government boards and departments, farmers, and other people knowledgeable on various aspects of Tongan agriculture and botany.

125 [114] administer the questionnaire.

Table 1. Number of questionnaires administered to representative village in each district.

District	Village	No. of Questionnaires
Nuku'alofa	Kolomotu'a	23
	Kolofo'ou	13
	Ma'ufanga	8
Hihifo	Kolovai	18
Vaheloto	Ha'ateiho	22
	Houma	21
Hahake	Haveluliku	7
	Patumu	17
	Kolonga	21
TOTAL		150

126 [124] Throughout the year, plant specimens were collected from cultivated and natural vegetation. Folk names were obtained from Tongan informants, especially at the Talamahu Market where a consensus of opinion on the "correct" Tongan name could be reached. These identifications in Tongan were then cross-referenced in Yuncker's Plants of Tonga (1959) for tentative scientific names. Research was also carried out in the Agriculture Department's Herbarium, which contains specimens collected by H. Hu̇rlimann (1951), T.G. Yuncker (1953), and E. Lawrence (1959). Fresh specimens collected in the field were compared with this collection to verify their identity. In addition, 193 herbarium specimens were collected and posted to California where

126 128

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

information about each person in the household: name, sex, relationship to head of household, age, marital status, place of birth, religious affiliation, whether or not the person had any land for cultivation registered in his/her name, the highest educational level attained, name and place of the last school attended, and a question about employment off the land and any additional sources of income.

While initially I set out to obtain these data in concise tabular form, I soon discovered that the survey responses served as a springboard for further enquiry and that, with very few exceptions, people did not seem to resent my many questions or object to how long it was taking. I therefore decided to take the opportunity of using the survey to enlarge and enrich my information about persons in each household. Thus the survey sheets became covered with cramped little notes and genealogical diagrams relating to such matters as the connection between natural and adoptive parents in cases of adoption (many of which I had not previously known to be cases of adoption), how a person came to have land where he did, whose land was borrowed, items relating to people's residential history, information I had not known about genealogical connections with people in other households in the village, and much more of a descriptive ethnographic nature. Later, in analysing some of these data, I found that they provided me with a demographic perspective on relations between the villagers and their chief, and this has proven invaluable in understanding the relationship between local history and social and economic developments in Tonga over the past few decades.

I am now somewhat abashed at the way I went about collecting these data. But I feel it is necessary to be candid about the push-broom mentality underlying my census-taking because I am sure that I am not alone in the haphazard way in which I collected a great deal of data, and that many if not most field ethnographers do the same sort of thing. Much of the material collected in this way is of potential demographic interest. For example, once I became aware of the possibility of extending my enquiries through the household survey, I took the opportunity to explore the question of the dispersal of nuclear-family members through adoption and fosterage, extra-local marriage, and other mechanisms. Although my inquiries were directed at the question of dispersal, I asked the parents to enumerate all their children so as to ensure that

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

none was missed. In the course of this I was told about children who had died, and I noticed that in many families some child had died. I was particularly sensitive to this because I knew of two infants who had died in the period since I arrived in Motulahi (and a third died a few weeks before I left). Thus I began to ask explicitly about children who were no longer alive. By then, however, I was about half-way through the survey. So, while I have a fairly complete set of data relating to the number of surviving offspring, my information on the number of children ever born is incomplete and this limits the demographic value of my data on fertility and infant mortality. Similarly, I cannot make a complete enumeration of maternal age at the birth of the first child (even if I were sure of the woman's age), nor can I deal properly with the question of the length of birth intervals, because I failed to ask when children not resident in the household were born (see Table 2). These questions relate to demographic indices that are not available from the reports on the national census, and could have been an important contribution to the demography of Tonga (McArthur 1968: 94--95). Had I recognized the demographic significance of such enquiry at the time of fieldwork, the overall value of the data that I did collect could have been enhanced with little extra effort.

Conclusion

In this paper I have called attention to demographic aspects of some of the data anthropologists collect as a matter of course while in the field. Using materials from my own fieldwork, I have tried to show both the promise and the limitations of these data. My claim is that materials collected by anthropologists have considerable potential as a data-source for demographic analysis, but anthropologists must learn the elements of demography before they can be of more than limited use to demographers. My own case serves as an object lesson that unless anthropologists are mindful of the demographic implications of their data, they are likely to return from the field with material whose demographic value is limited because the data are incomplete.

of the Fly and Worm, Election of Office-bearers and Project Leaders, The Balanced Diet, all helped to focus attention, and dramatisation of a successful branch meeting summed up the week's suggestions. For each course we had a series of quite superb interpreters from among the delegates. During the last week several sessions were taken by Princess Mata'aho, who had helped us on arrival with valuable translations of cooking recipes.

As a means of demonstrating the importance of local resource personnel in village programmes, help was sought from the Medical Department for three of the morning sessions. The Public Health Inspector discussed with the group the findings of the recent village inspections and the means of coping with unsolved sanitation problems; the Sister Tutor from Hospital talked of infant care and home nursing, answering innumerable questions of every variety.

Water is one of Tonga's main needs, and WHO has been holding discussions with the Government on increasing the supply. A Filipino engineer, Mr. B. Adan, is working on a pilot scheme of sinking a well with village assistance as a preliminary to further development. He held a popular and prolonged session with each course explaining the technique and demonstrating how villagers could co-operate in the maintenance of a healthy supply of water.

Annual Show In October

The work of the *Langa Fonua* is gathered up annually in their October Show with its competitions in various types of Tongan crafts, sewing (including garment making), cookery, garden produce, flowers and poultry. It is the

/259 cont./

533 for large festivals in the villages, but mainly at Christmas time.
[177] On the more remote, small island of Nomuka there is even such a brass band whose six members, after diligent practice, have acquired a certain skill in performing on instruments which they bought from a Wesleyan brass band in Nuku'alofa, and some of which
534 were 50 years old. Moreover, /260/ in a few native huts of the main island there are pianos whose owners once acquired them by chance and can scarcely play, and a few Catholic churches and chapels have organs or harmoniums. (701)

[216] [207] 701. Portable gramophones and radios are rather scarce in the Archipelago.

[177] With respect to musical instruments of the Tongans there is thus extensive Europeanization to be noted.

538 554 Poets were once highly honored in Tonga. They were under the protection of the chiefs (702)

702. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 153. E.E.V. Collocott, "Tales and poems of Tonga," /cited in English/ B.P.B.M., Bulletin 46, 1928. p. 64.

who liked them because of the entertainment they provided; they also
538 [533] acted as chroniclers. Their poetry, (703)

703. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 336.

which they prepared in solitude, they sang (it was also performed by singing groups) (704)

704. Ibid. p. 337.

or recited before an audience that was often quite critical.

[124] According to the statements of a few Tongan informants, the solo performance (recitation) seems to be given even today, though rarely.
[574] If there is a large festival (katoanga) in which a member of the royal family, for instance, participates, a native will get up after a dance performance and recite a poem (about remarkable landscapes or

/266 cont./

535 is very old in Tonga. According to an otherwise well-informed Tonga, [124] this dance was once upon a time taken over from Uvea. [177]

Today, as in the past, the Tongan dance is closely connected with [538] poetry and music. (721) [533]

721. In general, only dances recently written and composed (within the framework of the customary pattern) are practiced and performed.

Among the natives the desire to dance and the talent for dancing are still basically present. The list given above, which is by no means exhaustive, shows that some native dances are still known in Tonga. Once the natives practice a dance they take great pains and, on the basis of many rehearsals, strive to achieve a precision for which these natives were so very much praised in the past. In contrast to [292] the customary everyday and festive clothing in which European fabrics [177] predominate, (722)

722. See p. 67 ff.

the natives still use for their dances costumes of bast-cloth and bast (723)

723. Over European underwear.

that are probably similar to the traditional dance dress.

535 On the other hand, one must note that nowadays there are very 178 few ancient Tongan dances in the Archipelago, and that these very ones are seldom shown. They /267/ have also not been handed down unchanged; women and girls take part in such dance which once were apparently reserved for men; the separation into day and night dances has been forgotten, and it is to be presumed that the movements as well as the accompanying songs have also changed to a certain extent.

535 The borrowed dances are far more familiar and popular than the ancient 177 Tongan ones, and are thus more often performed. Yet this is to be traced back less to European influences than to the Tongan tendency

[No p. 404 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 .OU9 Tonga OU9

168 A lack of consistent governmental support has produced a
842 final obstacle to an effective family planning program. While a few members of the government outwardly support the program, others have, for various reasons, withheld their endorsement. This inconsistency is prevalent at all levels of the government.

The combined result of these three negative factors is a program far less effective than its earlier reported potential.
168 Interviews with Tongan family planning administrators indicated
842 that while these are important considerations, family planning is
124 making progress and stabilizing population growth. However, interview questions designed to determine the opinions of average village inhabitants toward Tongan population issues revealed several interesting factors.

168 Among those Tongan citizens questioned, there was almost unanimous agreement that overcrowding is a problem within Tonga, in the 1970s. This overcrowding was recognized at four societal levels: family, village, island, and nation. However, very few of those interviewed could supply an accurate national population estimate (within 15,000).

Similarly, of those interviewed, most believed that overpopu-
168 lation would remain a major problem in Tonga's future. On the other
842 hand, few individuals considered family planning to be an important feature of household management.

Density of population was also found to be of minor importance in the acceptance or rejection of family planning. In a comparison of the high density areas of Ha'apai with low density

134 provide for crop needs.[1] The practice of burning-over land, which 241 follows clearing, represents a significant factor to soil composi- 134 tion. This constant burning severely limits the amount of humus in the soil and acts to reduce the amount of available nitrogen 241 (Hougland 1974). A further negative effect of burning is evident in 245 cash crop production. Improper timing of the burning process often results in damage to coconut palms, thereby reducing the number of nuts produced. Several 'apis were observed where burning had totally destroyed the immature nuts of producing palms.

241 Following burning, very little ordering of the land is done. Occasionally, a farmer may rent a small tractor to plow his land, but usually the cost is prohibitive or the procedure is considered unnecessary. The planting of crops in Tonga involves little more than digging a hole in the soil, planting, and leaving the crop largely untended until maturity. Few farmers effectively weed more than the immediate planting site, and planting often follows no pattern of rows or other orderly arrangement.

[242] Tongans evaluate land fertility by the presence of such wild vegetation as weeds and grasses, plus previous experience with the [425] given land. However, land shortages in the more densely populated areas often limit the choice of planting sites, and even in cases where land is borrowed, usually only the poorer land is lent, and thus secured for planting.

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[124] [1]This information was obtained from an examination of Tongan soil, in conjunction with interviews conducted at the Tongan Government Experimental Farm.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

443 largest markets are Nuku'alofa in Tongatapu, Pangai in Ha'apai, and
[366] Neiafu in Vava'u. Such markets cater to two principal groups,
although many people travel to market to buy, sell, or socialize.
443 Those members of the non-Tongan population who do not lease land,
439 such as church facilities, and must purchase market food, repre-
sent one group. Though not large in comparison to the Tongan popu-
lation, this group does contribute a significant cash input to the
443 local economy. The second group consists of landless Tongans and
those Tongans who do not farm or garden intensively and derive cash
income from other means.

Producers, or members of their families, most frequently sell
[512] directly to the consumer. Saturday is market day (although the
major markets carry some business throughout the week, except Sunday)
[427] and the market area becomes the center of urban activity. Individu-
als having produce to sell may rent one of several types of stalls
443 or floor space, upon which to display their produce. The staple
438 foods (i.e., tubers, coconuts, and bananas) are the major items
sold, although other types of food produce and miscellaneous items,
443 such as shells, carvings, and handicrafts, are also available. Mar-
512 keting hours generally are from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with the
busiest time being in the forenoon and early afternoon.

123 Personal observations, plus discussions with sellers,
124 revealed several marketing patterns. A few farmers or craftsmen
443 sell each day or week on a regular basis, and generally have rented
427 stalls which can be locked at the end of each day. Rental for these
[435] is on a monthly basis, and costs the producer eight dollars per
month.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cultural patterns, which determine the rank order of food consumption during family meals, also often limit the preschooler's diet.[1]

Diet is also influenced by the prestige value of foods as was discussed in relation to papaya, pork and goat. Tubers are generally ascribed a high prestige value in Tonga. This is particularly true of the yam and white potato. However, leafy vegetables which are potential sources of vitamins lack this status

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[1]Tongan government officials and members of the World Health Association publicly deny the existence of a feeding order within Tongan households. However, it was confidentially learned from field officers of W.H.O. and medical personnel in Tonga that such a situation does exist and is a significant influence upon the nutritional well-being of the preschooler. Personal observations substantiated the prevalence of a traditional feeding order, in which the meal is consumed in shifts, with adult men (joined occasionally by women) eating first, women and children eating in an order following. It was noted in many cases that preschoolers are unable to compete with older children for those food items not consumed by adult family members. Occasionally older children are given charge of feeding younger brothers or sisters, and subsequently neglect their responsibility. Thus, another significant factor which influences the nutritional well-being of the preschooler is his age and ability to fend for himself. A category of foods nearly universally neglected in nutritional survey work is that generally known as "bush food," or those wild or domesticated fruits, nuts, etc. which an individual collects and consumes away from the household. A preschooler is not physically developed enough to take advantage of this food source. A three-year-old was never observed scaling a coconut palm in search of a snack. However, a 40 foot palm proved no obstacle to a 6- or 7-year-old. Similarly, preschoolers were never observed on the reefs searching for edible raw shellfish. However, older children, as well as numerous adults, were able to take advantage of this valuable protein source. The preschooler is at a developmental stage in which he is totally dependent upon the household for food. However, within the household, he usually consumes only the leftovers and is often left out entirely. This cultural pattern is totally contradictory to the nutritional needs of the growing child.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

272 a popular drink at mealtimes. It is actually little more than hot sugar water and remains a poor substitute for milk or broth.[1]

262 Snack foods consumed by urban preschoolers also are of poor
146 nutritional quality such as imported cookies (called biscuits),
273 soft drinks, and miscellaneous items (cheese puffs were observed to
262 be favorites). In rural areas a child is most often given coconut, taro or a fruit, such as papaya or mango, when in season. Rural children also enjoy a greater variety of foods per meal, with several tubers being supplemented by fruit and frequently meat or fish.

146 To summarize, the preceding data indicated that individuals residing in urban Tonga consume less nutritionally balanced diets. [124] This was substantiated by interviews with the medical staff of Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu. The urban group most frequently having substandard diets was found to be migrants from other islands or

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272 [1]The low consumption of milk in all regions of Tonga, but
146 especially Nuku'alofa, is a nutritional shortcoming in the Tongan
[439] diet. Imported milk sources such as powdered, sweetened condensed or evaporated products are available and, if used properly, could be influential in improving the preschool dietary condition. However, the most frequent way of serving milk is to substantially dilute the mixture with water (often unclean) and thereby reducing the nutritional value. Domestic sources of cow's milk are scarce and expensive, while the large milk goat population in Tonga represents a largely unused potential milk source. A nutritive comparison of goat's milk and cow's milk indicates that goat's milk is quantitatively higher in most vitamins and minerals, contains more fat, a higher total caloric value in addition to a reasonably equal protein value. Widespread use of goat's milk, as suggested in previous chapters, would improve the nutritional conditions of many currently malnourished Tongan children. However, the consumption of goat's milk is believed to be indicative of low social prestige and government officials are unreceptive to information concerning its potential value.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

rural Tongatapu. These people, displaced by overpopulation, the lack of land or through the development of cash cropping, represent a critical potential risk for the development of classical malnutrition.[1] A situation cited as being conducive to the development of malnutrition involves a child with diarrhea (as is common in weaning infants) being fed only warm sugar water, a folk medicine remedy. This treatment tends to aggravate the initial condition and the cycle develops and intensifies (Tu'itavaka 1974). Subsequent manifestations of malnutrition are a lessening of the child's activity level, an increase of irritability and a retardation in the physical growth and development of the child.

During the investigation designed to determine the physical conditions of Tongan preschool children, height, weight, arm circumference and skinfold measures were recorded, as anthropometric indicators of a child's growth and development. Data from each indicator was grouped as to rural or urban and compared to suggested standards (The Health Aspects of Food and Nutrition 1972, pp. 278-283). Percents of variation from standards were then taken and

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[1] The development of the symptoms of malnutrition (i.e., retarded growth and development in preschool subjects) was not strongly correlated to densely populated rural areas such as rural Ha'apai and western Tongatapu. Interview responses indicated no cases of malnutrition in these areas, which may be attributed to the greater availability of protein. The Nuku'alofa environs produced the greatest number of cases of malnutrition with Neiafu containing the second largest number. Only one case of malnutrition from the outer islands was reported. The staff of Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu believe malnutrition in Tonga is strongly linked to continued urbanization. (Interview with S. U. Tu'itavaka, Vaiola Hospital, Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, September 24, 1974.)

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach. Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives alongside the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us.

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his principal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it, the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body, coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to commence. We entered the apartment at the side, and took our places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round,

* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (Piper mythesticum), and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the ceremony.

105: Vaea & Straatmans G,I-3 (no date) 1954
OU9 Tonga OU9

PRELIMINARY REPORT* ON A FISHERIES SURVEY IN TONGA

By

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and

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INTRODUCTION.

WE are indebted to Mr. M. Muller, retired Acting Agricultural Officer. Apart from the information laid down in this report, which was mainly collected by interrogation of fishermen, he contributed much of his own knowledge about local fisheries.

More could have been added to complete the record if, besides interrogation, we have investigated fishing methods in the field and if we had inspected fishing gears on the spot. This, however, would have delayed the issue of this first compilation which we prefer to circulate as a preliminary report. There are several reasons why this was considered preferable, i.e.:—

(a) To make the first information available to fisheries experts and to fisheries experiment stations abroad;

(b) To receive advice as to what suggestions can be obtained to improve on the methods of Tongan fisheries and fish processing;

(c) To enable more local fisheries experts—not yet contacted—to add to this record all what is still worth mentioning.

CONTENTS.

1. COMMUNITY FISHING.
(a) Pola; (b) Faka'uvea; (c) Uloa; (d) Tolo; (e) Tuotua; (f) Ta 'atu.

2. TRAP FISHING.
(a) Moka; (b) Fish Fence.

* The substance of this paper was presented as a lecture by the author to the Palmerston North Polynesian Discussion Group.